THE HUNTINGTON LIBRARY BULLETIN

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NUMBER 9 • APRIL 1936



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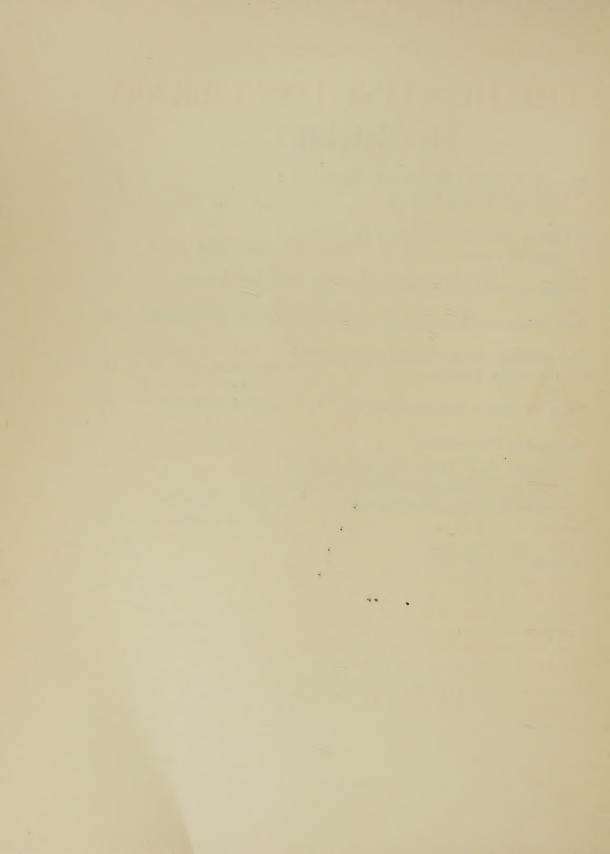
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William Lily's Verse for the Entry of Charles V into London

By C. R. BASKERVILL

MONG the apparently unique items in the Huntington Library is a pamphlet entitled Of the tryumphe and the verses that Charles themperour & the most myghty redouted kyng of England Henry the .VIII. were saluted with passyng through London. It contains Latin poems written by William Lily for the entry of Charles V into London in 1522, a very free translation of them in rime royal, and an introduction and a conclusion in the same meter by the anonymous translator. The Huntington Library copy was entered in Pollard and Redgrave's Short-Title Catalogue under Charles V (No. 5017), with no mention of Lily, and seemingly its interest for students of Lily's work and of Tudor pageantry has been overlooked. The pamphlet is here reprinted with a brief account of its background.

The occasion for the royal entry was a visit which Charles V paid to England in order to confirm the recent alliance made between him and Henry VIII against Francis I of France. Naturally an event of such political importance as the visit of the young emperor-elect was celebrated with great splendor. The most complete day-by-day account of the itinerary and the entertainments provided is to be found in Hall's chronicle. On May 26 the emperor, with a large retinue,

The Union of the two noble and illustre famelies of Lancastre & Yorke (1548), The triumphaunt reigne of Kyng Henry the .VIII., fols. 94-99°.

crossed from Calais to Dover, where Henry joined him. After appropriate ceremonies along the way, the company reached Greenwich on June 2, and were entertained at the palace for several days with such pastimes as jousts and masks. On Friday, June 6, the two monarchs with their trains made their formal procession through London, which in the words of Holinshed "was prepared for their entrie, after the maner as is vsed at a coronation, so that nothing was forgotten that might set foorth the citie." The rest of the time they spent chiefly at Windsor, where again there were courtly entertainments, and where a treaty of alliance was formally concluded. On July 6 the emperor

sailed from Southampton.

The author of the pamphlet on Lily's verse has omitted any account of the London entry, on the ground that all had witnessed it. For the modern reader, however, the poems have little meaning without some knowledge, at least, of the pageants for which they were intended. Two detailed and independent descriptions of the emperor's triumph are available, which supplement each other in many points — Hall's and a manuscript account in Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. The general picture presented is that of the typical royal entry of the era. Mayor and aldermen rode out into Surrey to meet the procession of English and imperialists, and Sir Thomas More delivered a Latin address of welcome in behalf of the city. Entering the city, the emperor found at the drawbridge two giant figures, Hercules and Samson, holding between them a tablet on which his titles and dominions were inscribed in letters of gold. In the middle of the bridge stood the first of the eight pageants which represented the chief feature of the city's entertainments. Its subject was Jason and the Golden Fleece, in recognition of the emperor's position as head of the Toison d'or. The second pageant, at the conduit in Gracechurch Street, showed Charlemagne in three separate scenes, in the central one giving a sword and a scepter to Charles and to Henry as his heirs. At Leadenhall, where the procession turned west into Cornhill, the third pageant took the form of a genealogical tree tracing the descent of both monarchs from John of Gaunt. The conduit in Cornhill was

¹ No. 298, § 8 (pp. 132-42). Robert Withington has printed a large part of this manuscript account in his discussion of the entry in *English Pageantry* (Cambridge, Mass.), I (1918), 174-79.

decorated with a pageant of Arthur and the Round Table. The fifth, at the Stocks, presented the Isle of England with the heavens above, and figures of the king and the emperor in a scene symbolizing peace. In the sixth pageant, at the great conduit in Cheapside, galleries filled with musicians made an inclosure apparently for two separate features, of the symbolic red and white rose and of the Four Cardinal Virtues. The seventh, at the standard in Cheap, was again genealogical, representing the common Spanish line of the two monarchs derived from Alphonsus of Castile. Finally, the pageant at the little conduit in Cheap, near St. Paul's, depicted the Assumption of the Virgin. The royal party then alighted and entered the cathedral for the Te Deum usual on such occasions.

The fact that Lily wrote verse in honor of the emperor's triumph has long been known. Among the manuscript minutes of the court of aldermen for the period, many of which bear testimony to the care which the city fathers bestowed on this great civic enterprise, there are two records in regard to Lily's verse. The first, dated May 28, 1522, reads, "Item to sende to Master Lyly for the Speches for the pageantes." Again, on November 18, 1522, the court of aldermen, after agreeing that Sir Thomas More should have ten pounds toward a gown of velvet for his "proposicion," added,

The copy of Lily's verses to be delivered to the aldermen for a precedent has not survived in the city archives. It does not appear what the "other maters" for the pageants may have been. George Lily also, in the Elogia of his father included in the *Descriptio Britanniae*

¹ Repertory Book IV, fols. 120, 135. Reginald R. Sharpe, London and the Kingdom (London), I (1894), 365, has called attention to these records.

² The reading may be "versus."

³ In the passage in Repertory Book VI, fol. 4, from which this was presumably copied, the reading is "verse mater and other prose mater/ for the Pageauntes," etc.

of Paulus Jovius (1548), attributed to the elder Lily panegyric verse for the occasion, in the brief statement: "Carolum item Quintum Caesarem, ab Henrico Octauo rege magnificentissimè hospitio exceptum, & celeberrimo spectaculorum apparatu Londini urbem intrantem, panagyrico carmine, & luculenta oratione à puero in foro

pronunciata laudauit."

Of the tryumphe and the verses serves to identify as the work of William Lily seven poems and the motto "Carolus Henricus uiuant," etc., which was used as an ornamental inscription. The first of the poems, called Lily's "Acclamatio" to the emperor, will be considered separately. It is the only one of them to bear a title or heading in the Latin form, and the only one which the translator does not connect with any location or pageant. The rest of Lily's verse Hall incorporates in his account of the entry, printing each speech as he describes the pageant to which it belongs. He gives no indication as to author-

ship, however.

Though the pamphlet contains all the verse printed by Hall, it is probable that his texts were drawn from some other source. His omission of Lily's name and of the "Acclamatio" suggests this. Moreover, the few variants — for example, Hall's mimijs for Minyis in the poem for the pageant of Jason, Arthuri for Arcturi in the poem for the pageant of Arthur, and preterque for precesque in the poem which he assigns to the Assumption — suggest that his source was less faithful to Lily than that of the translator. There is also a discrepancy as to where the last three poems were spoken, but here Hall seems to be right. The one beginning "Carole qui fulges" is clearly most appropriate to the pageant to which he assigns it — that at the standard in Cheap, showing the Spanish line of the two monarchs. There is little choice between the other two poems for the pageants at the great and

¹ Of the eight pageants, both Hall and the translator fail to assign a poem to the third (that of John of Gaunt) and to the fifth (the Isle of England). None of the documents on the entry mentions speech with the third, but according to the Corpus Christi College MS (pp. 139-40) two children explained the meaning of the fifth, one in English and one in French. As John Rastell devised this pageant (see Rep. IV, fol. 117^b), he probably prepared the speeches also. There may have been other verse not written by Lily, for the manuscript again describes (p. 140), for the sixth pageant, a Latin speech which corresponds to none of Lily's poems but would be appropriate to the device of the Four Cardinal Virtues there. Presumably this was in addition to Lily's speech for the pageant.

the little conduit, but the words "auspicio Christi, Mariaeque" are probably meant to connect "Ob quorum aduentum" with the Assumption at the little conduit, again according to Hall's arrangement. Moreover, while music is featured in the descriptions of both these pageants, "Quanto amplexetur," with its list of musical instruments, is better suited to the pageant at the great conduit, where musicians filled the galleries. There is also one point in which the chronicle seems to supplement both the pamphlet and the manuscript account. Hall describes the first two pageants as having the pageant verse written on them. It is safe enough to assume that in addition to being spoken the various poems were inscribed on tablets attached to the pageant structures, according to the conventions of the royal entry."

The "Acclamatio" is somewhat more general in character than the other poems and was probably written to serve as one of the separate addresses which were characteristic of such occasions, though neither Hall nor the author of the manuscript account mentions such a feature for 1522. Regularly, for example, the mayor and aldermen took their stand at the upper end of Cheapside to receive their rulers formally, with a speech in presentation of a gift. The unusually full account of Elizabeth's entry shows that in addition to this speech, by the recorder, there was an address of welcome and another of farewell, an oration by a scholar of Paul's, and one by a scholar of Christ's Hospital. The "Acclamatio" might appropriately have been spoken at the entrance to the city, but more likely it was the oration which George Lily mentions as delivered by a boy "in foro" — that is, presumably in Cheap Ward.

A further indication that the "Acclamatio" served a special purpose is found in the fact that a version of it occurs separately, along

The more important accounts showing the general features of the Tudor royal entry are as follows: for Katherine of Aragon in 1501, The Antiquarian Repertory, ed. Grose and Astle, II (London, 1808), 257–83; for Anne Boleyn in 1533, Tudor Tracts, 1532–1588, with an introduction by A. F. Pollard (London, 1903), pp. 9–28; for Edward VI in 1547, John Leland, Collectanea, ed. Thomas Hearne (London, 1770), IV, 310–22; for Mary in 1553, John Stow, Annales (1600), pp. 1041–42; for Philip in 1554, The Chronicle of Queen Jane, and . . . Queen Mary, ed. J. G. Nichols (Camden Society, 1850), pp. 145–51; for Elizabeth in 1559, Tudor Tracts, pp. 365–92. The verse for the entry of Anne Boleyn is to be found in Ballads from Manuscripts, ed. F. J. Furnivall (Ballad Society, 1868, 1872), I, 378–401.

with some other verse by Lily, in Harleian MS 540. The manuscript form, which is printed here for comparison, shows a number of scribal errors and other variations from the pamphlet form:

Ad Carolum .5. Germani Inperatorem

Carole Germanie gentis decus hesperieque
Regum quo nemo stemmata plura gerit
Carole qui totum decoras virtutibus orbem
Et populos mira qui probitate regis
Carole nutanti veniens spes vnica mundi
Rebus et afflictus indubitata salus
Carole quem rarum dominum tot regna tot vrbes
Et summum gaudent imperii esse caput
Viue diu fœlix et nos miseratus ab hoste
Virtutis clipeo protege christicolas
Sirus Arabs maurus at que tam barbara sevit
Turcarum illuuies te duce victa cadit

Speech seems to have played a decidedly less important role than usual in the triumph of the emperor, partly no doubt because of the international nature of the celebration. While Latin kept its hold in the royal entry and was of course the fitting tongue in which to address the emperor, the use of Latin alone for Lily's poems, in inscriptions as well as speeches, was an unusual feature, which naturally limited their appeal. Few or none, as the translator says, knew Lily's meaning. But the verse itself is very small in amount, and too loosely connected with the themes of the pageants to make speech an integral part of the pageantry, as it was in the other entries for which the verse has been preserved.

In its pamphlet form and its popular appeal, Of the tryumphe and the verses belongs to a distinct type of news pamphlet giving accounts of great ceremonial occasions. It is unusual in its narrow scope and its use of poetic form. Pamphlets of the general type were published in numbers on the Continent and sporadically in England during the early part of the sixteenth century. The earliest to which I can point

¹ Fol. 57¹. See M. F. J. McDonnell, A History of St. Paul's School (London, 1909), p. 76, for notice of this manuscript poem.

in England sets forth in detail the arrangements for the reception of Katherine of Aragon in 1501 and her marriage to Arthur. The next, on the betrothal of Charles V and Mary, daughter of Henry VII, in 1508, appeared in both a Latin form and a slightly shortened English translation.2 All of these were printed by Pynson, who also brought out the Lily item. Perhaps his French connection led him to experiment with the news pamphlet of this type. The accounts of the entries of Anne Boleyn and Elizabeth already cited from Tudor Tracts are later examples of the form. Among the many pamphlets on entries published abroad in the early part of the century, that of 1514 on the entry of Mary Tudor into Paris as the wife of Louis XII is interesting as having been preserved in four editions.3 Naturally the career of Charles V called forth a number of these pamphlets. One which I have never seen cited is a German tract dealing with his visit to England in 1522, entitled Wie vnd in wellicher gestalt Kay. May. vom Bruck auss gen Lunden in Engeland gezogen ankommen vnd Empfangen worden ist. For the student of pageantry the most important of them is the description of his entry into Bruges in 1515, written by Remy Dupuys, with a very valuable set of illustrations.4

The pamphlet in the Huntington Library is a quarto of six leaves, in black letter, with signatures a ii and a iii for the second and third leaves. Though undated, it must have appeared promptly enough after the entry to take advantage of a popular interest in the pageantry. The title-page bears a conventional portrait of Charlemagne as emperor. In the original, the English is printed in black letter, with

^{*} Short-Title Catalogue, No. 4814.

² The Latin form (Short-Title Catalogue, No. 4659) is ascribed to Peter Carmelianus because the introductory and concluding verses have his name in the titles. The single, and imperfect, copy of the English form (No. 17558) bears the title The solempnities and triumphes doon at the spousells of the kyngs doughter. See Camden Miscellany, Vol. IX (Camden Society, 1895), for reprints of both, edited by J. Gairdner. A Spanish translation — apparently of the English text, since some of the English words which occur in it are not in the Latin — is printed as Los solemnidades y triunfos, etc., in Relaciones historicas de los siglos XVI y XVII, ed. F. R. de Uhagón y Guardamino (Sociedad de Bibliofilos Españoles; Madrid, 1896), No. II, pp. 14-27.

³ For this and other French examples, see J. C. Brunet, Manuel du libraire (Paris), II

<sup>(1861), 989-1008.

4</sup> Reprinted in Recueil de chroniques, chartres et autres documents (Société d'Emulation de Bruges), 3d Ser. [1850].

headings of the same size as the text, and the Latin in roman. In the reprint which follows, they are represented by roman and italic respectively. The virgules of the black-letter text are retained.

¶Of the tryumphe/ and the verses that Charles themperour/ & the most myghty redouted kyng of England/ Henry the .viii. were saluted with/ passyng through London.

[a i]

[Cut of Charlemagne]

[Cut of the royal arms of England, upheld by a dragon and a greyhound]

[a iv] .

THe great triumphe/ howe shulde one man discryue (The lusty freshe deuyses/ the sumptuous riche array The crafty imagery/ so lyke to folke a lyue With bright colours shyning/ fressher than the May) That was in London/ of Iune the sixte day What tyme the Egle persyng the sonne beames Entred with the lyon/ drad in all reames.

a. ii.

¶The pagiants goodly wrought/ and of great valure Set with deuyses/ and made curiously Plenysshed with personages all of pleasure In some virgyns/ attyred gorgiously In other some chyldren/ makyng swete armony And some with riche armes/ dasshed full ther were Whiche dyd shyne/ and lustre wonders clere.

The reasons/ and eke prouerbes many folde Very subtilly conueyed/ at eche place Ornately written/ in letters all of golde Iustely to write/ shulde be to long a space ye/ and one may fortune greatly in that case To erre. that wolde vpon hym vndertake Of eche thyng/ true relacyon for to make.

Why shulde one write/ that eche man with his eye Dyd welbeholde and se/ wandring to and fro I suppose for trueth/ no man shulde set therby Therfore I shall it nowe passe and ouer go And brefely shall dyrect my selfe vnto The mater/ that I purpose to declare In rude englysshe/ in sentence grose and bare.

[a iiv]

¶In dyuers places/ as ye shall vnderstande There was a chylde that stode all alone Whiche chylde/ helde a role in his hande But what he sayd/ there knewe fewe or none Wherfore to me/ there haue come many one Demaundyng/ what these same chyldren ment And many I enfourmed of their entent.

¶For feruent loue (I sayd) and great honour They had lusty verses/ composed ornately Cesar to salute. and the highe conquerour Henry the eight our kyng. the onely glory Of all erthely kynges/ and of chiualry The flour. Beloued and dradde of great and small Throughout the great worlde ouer all.

• What ment the verses/ they asken by and by? And tyll they knowe/ with them I have no rest And for that I sawe them/ so desirously: Enquere therof. I thought it for the best/ The selfe same verses/ to do be emprest ye/ and farthermore/ vnder correction Of them to make a rude translation.

¶So bolde I am/ of that maister moost humayne Cleped Lily: his fresshe verses to translate In to our tonge/ out of their ornate vayne Of pure latyn. To thende that to eche state Lerned and vnlernd/ they shulde be celebrate And first in latyn/ here ye shall them fynde And after englysshed/ I trust to your mynde.

CArolus Henricus uiuant. Defensor uterque. Henricus Fidei. Carolus Ecclesiæ. a. iii.

These verses were writen in letters of golde/ and set vp at the crosse in chepe/ and at euery pagiant: and they be englysshed thus.

GOd saue noble Charles/ and pusant kynge Henry And gyue to them bothe: good helth/lyfe/& long The one of holy churche/ defender right mighty The other of the faithe/ as champions moost strong.

DIVO CAROLO IMPERATORI SEMPER AVGVSTO GVIL, LILII ACCLAMATIO.

CArole Germanæ decus, et flos gentis Iberæ,
Regum quo nemo stemmata plura gerit.
Carole qui totum illustras uirtutibus orbem,
Et populum mira qui probitate foues.
Carole nutanti ueniens spes unica mundo,
Rebus et afflictis indubitata salus.
Carole quem dominum Europæ, tot regna, tot urbes,
Et sacri gaudent Imperij esse caput.
Viue diu felix. Gentem et miseratus ab hoste
Iustitiæ clypeo protege Christigenam.
Maurus, arabs, Syrus, et que nunc tam barbara seuit
Turcarum illuuies, te duce, uicta cadat.

The acclamacion of Guyllam Lily/ to the moost highe and mighty emperour Charles.

MOost mighty Charles/ of the lande of Germayne The amyable/ and swete fragrant floure Of the hardy and noble people/ of Hispayne: Of kynges lynage/ thou art the highe honour/ With thy prowes Charles/ lyke a conqueroure The vnyuersall worlde/ thou doost illustrate Merciably fauouryng/ the people of eche state.

Charles thou art come/ at the worldest request The onely hope in euery doutfull chaunce In afflyctions/ to cause welthe/ peace/ and rest: Of Europe Charles/ the riche and great pusaunce Kyngdomes/ cyties/ and townes without semblaunce Reioyse manyfolde/ to obey vnto the And that thou shuldest/ their lorde and captayne be.

¶God gyue the grace/ long luckely to raigne That thou mayst with thy shelde of hye iustyce/ The christen people/ fortyfie and sustayne Agaynst false enemyes/ who alway deuyse Vs to enuade/ after a moche cruell gyse Moores/ sarazins/ turkes/ people without pyte By thy mighty power/ subdued nowe may be.

[a iiiv]

Letitiæ quantum Minyis præbebat Iason, Aurea Phryxeæ uellera nactus Ouis, Letitiæ quantum tulerat Pompeius, et urbi, Hoste triumphato, Scipio Romulidum. Tantum tu nobis, Cæsar mitissime princeps, Intrans Henrici principis hospitium.

[a iv]

The salutacyon on London bridge/ in the pagiant of Iason and Medee.

WHat great ioye was it to the people of Mynis? What tyme the highe renowned knight Iason Had conquered in Colchos/ the golden flis: What ioye eke was/ the tryumphe of Scipion? And of hym Pompey/ to the romayns echone Lyke ioye to vs Charles/ prince of Clemency Is at thy comyng/ with pusaunt kyng Henry.

Carole Christigenum decus, et quem scripta loquuntur, A magno ductum Carolo habere genus: Tuque Henrice, pia uirtutis laude refulgens, Doctrina, ingenio, relligione, fide. Vos. Prætor. Consul. sanctus cum plebe Senatus, Vectos huc fausto sidere gestit. Ouans.

The gretyng at the pagiant in Gracyous strete.

CHarles clere lampe/ of christen nacyon
Of the it is spoken/ playnly in writyng
Of great Charles/ to haue generacyon
And eke thou Henry/ our souerayne lorde and kyng
Thy great laude of swete vertue/ so bright shinyng
Highe doctryne/ wysdome/ faythe/ and relygion
Dothe excell the fortune/ of kynges echone.

[a ivv]

With what ioye abyden/ for you princes twayne? The honourable mayre/ with all the hole senate No place can the gentyll cytezins sustayne/ So ioyen they/ of highe and lowe estate: Hauyng their vysage to heuen eleuate: Praysyng god/ with all their force and might For to beholde/ so fayre and glorious sight.

Laudat magnanimos urbs inclyta Roma Catones, Cantant Annibalem Punica regna suum, Gentis erat Solymæ rex ingens gloria Dauid, Gentis Alexander Gloria prima suæ. Illustrat fortes Arcturi fama Britannos. Illustras gentem Cæsar et ipse tuam. Cui deus Imperium, uicto precor hoste, secundet, Regnet ut in terris pacis amica quies.

¶This gretyng was/ at the pagiant in Cornhyll.

THe noble cytie of Rome/ highly dothe commende
The worthy Catons/ and Carthage Anniball
Of Solyme the glory/ Dauyd dyd discende:
Alexander his countre/ enhaunsed ouer all
The fame of worthy Arthure shall neuer apall
Among the strong Bretons/ whose lyke be nat founde
Of fierse hardynesse through out all the worlde rounde.

[a v]

¶So thou Charles/ thou Cesar armypotent Shalt cause thy fame and honour for to blowe Ouer all the worlde/ from Eest to Occydent That all folkes thy worthynesse shall knowe For the we shall to the hygh god/ our knees bowe Prayeng hym to sende the/ the hygh victory That peace in erthe/ may raigne vnyuersally.

Carole qui fulges Sceptro, et Diademate sacro, Tuque Henrice simul stemmata iuncta gerens, Alter Germanis, alter lux clara Britannis, Miscens Hispano sanguine uterque genus. Viuite felices, quot uixit secula Nestor. Viuite Cumanæ tempora fatidicæ.

This gretyng was at the pagiant at the great cundyte in chepe.

O Charles shynyng With sceptre and Diadeame And lykewise Henry: of kynges the great glory Thone of germayn/ thother clere light/ of Britan reame Together knytte/ by spaynisshe genealogy God graunt you both to lyue as longe/ ioyfully/ As Nestor and Cumana. God graunt my request For than shall raygne amonge vs peace and rest. Ob quorum aduentum toties gens ipsa Britanna Supplex dijs superis uota precesque dedit, Quos ætas omnis, Pueri, Iuuenesque, Senesque, Optarunt oculis sæpe uidere suis.

Venistis tandem, auspicio Christi, Mariæque, Pacis coniuncti federe perpetuo.

Heroes saluete pij, saluete beati, Exhilarant nostros numina uestra lares.

The gretyng that was at the pagiant/ at the standerd in Chepe.

O Howe oft princis/ the people of Britayne
For your comyng haue made supplication
Vnto god. all ages prayen/ with hert glad and fayne
Chyldren/ yong folke/ and olde with deuocyon
Desyryng entierly/ with great affection
your noble persons/ for to beholde and se
Vntyll that tyme contented they can nat be.

¶At last ye come/ conduct by Christ and Mary Knyt toguether/ with perpetuall bonde of peace Hayle/ moost pusant princes: full of clemency Hayle mighty kynges/ blessed and well at ease I pray the lyuynge god: that it may hym please your great vertues/ graces/ and eke goodnesse Into vs and ours/ may haue a large entresse.

Quanto amplexetur populus te Cæsar amore, Testantur uarijs gaudia mixta sonis. Aera, tube, litui, cantus, citharæ, calamisque Consona te resonant organa disparibus. Vnum te celebrant, te unum sic cuncta salutant. O decus, o rerum Gloria, Cæsar. Aue.

This salutacyon was at the pagiant/ at the lytell cundyt in chepe.

With what ioy Charles the people the amplect Theyr ryght great ioyes done playnly testifye Mixed with swete sownes of many a sect Some sownyng trumpes/ and clarions wonders hye Some other syngynge most melodiously Some vpon lutes/ some vpon harpes play The to reioyce/ in all that euer they may.

[a v^v]

[a vi]

¶Some with pypes/ maken swete armony Some stryke thorgan kayes/ very doulce and shrill The swete noyse redoundeth vp vnto the skye All celebrate the Charles/ bothe loude and styll All and echone Charles done salute the/ and wyll/ Sayeng. O Worshyp: o glory of thynges humayne Hayle mighty Charles/ emperour of Germayne.

The conclusion of the translatour.

THis was all that the chyldren sayd and ment That stode alone/ before as I haue sayd Wherfore I praye you/ therwith to be content That eche man it knowe/ I holde me well apayed Ones/ nowe to you/ it can nat be denayed For here may ye at long/ it bothe rede and se So that ye nede nat/ more to demaunde of me.

The tran. to the mayre and senatours.

RIght honorable mayre/ and prudent senatours
Of this noble cite/ the flour of Christente
ye haue well shewed/ what longeth to highe honours
To largesse/ noblesse/ and royall soueraynte
In the house of Fame regestred shall it be
For certayne shortely/ thyder it shall be sende
And there it shall remayne/ euer without ende.

■The tran. to the cytezyns.

Worthy citezyns/ contented ye can nat be Only with Iuno: but ye wyll haue also The lady Minerua/ to florisshe in your cite That is to say playnly/ without wordes mo Good lernyng/ and eke doctrine. ye and therto ye haue geat a mayster/ the flour of Poesy your children to instruct. Whose name is Lily.

Finis.

Imprynted by Richarde Pynson printer to the kyngis noble grace. Cum priuilegio a rege indulto. [a viv]

A Letter from Robert, Earl of Leicester, To a Lady

By CONYERS READ

THE letter printed below is almost certainly in the hand of Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, favorite of Queen Elizabeth. It is written on both sides of two folios, is not dated, indorsed, or addressed, and is signed simply with the initials R. L. Probably it is Leicester's copy of an original which he dispatched to some lady. It would normally, of course, have been the business of Leicester's secretary to prepare and file copies of his correspondence, but the highly confidential character of this particular epistle may explain why Leicester preferred to do his own transcribing. The document is preserved at the Huntington Library among the papers of Sir Thomas Egerton, first Baron Ellesmere.2 It has heretofore apparently escaped public notice, though some eighteenth-century scribe has written upon its margin, "This appears to be a Love Letter." How it got where it is can only be conjectured. It does not seem to have any relation to any other documents in the Ellesmere collection; but it will be remembered that Sir Thomas Egerton was Lord Keeper of the Great Seal under Elizabeth and afterwards Lord Chancellor under James I. As such he presided over the court of Chancery and the court of Star Chamber, and documents of all sorts bearing upon actions in both of these courts occur among his papers. In 1604 he conducted a star-chamber case in which the legitimacy of

¹ I acknowledge with gratitude Evelyn Plummer Braun's valuable assistance in transcribing and editing this letter.

² The only available catalogue of this collection, made before its transfer to America, by the Historical Manuscripts Commission, is in Office MSS., Bridgewater Trust, 11th Report (London, 1887), pp. 24–26, and Appendix, Pt. VII (1888), pp. 126–67. This catalogue is hopelessly inadequate and makes no mention at all of the letter under consideration. A careful, detailed catalogue of this valuable collection is much to be desired.

Leicester's son by Douglas Sheffield was in question. We may fancy, if we like, that Leicester's nephew and heir, Sir Robert Sidney, found the letter among his uncle's papers and brought it forward to support the plea that Leicester's son was a bastard. But there is no direct

evidence to establish this view of the matter.

In any event, here is the letter, perhaps the most interesting of all of Leicester's surviving correspondence. We cannot say positively when it was written or to whom it was written. Certainly it was written to a lady and certainly the lady was a widow. From the general tone of the letter it may be presumed that she was of high rank, perhaps of rank not greatly inferior to Leicester's own. "Only this I will say," Leicester writes to her, "that for my sake you have and do refuse as good remedies as are presently in our time to be had. The choice falls not oft, and yet I know you may have now of the best." It is, of course, abundantly evident that Leicester was on very intimate terms with her — in fact, the most intimate. It is also evident that when he wrote he was definitely resolved not to marry her, for the reason that he would jeopardize his position beside Queen Elizabeth if he did. The lady was evidently not at all satisfied with the ambiguous character of the relationship, and the immediate occasion of the letter was apparently some manifestation of her dissatisfaction.

This is all that can certainly be gathered from the text of the letter itself. One must look outside it for the answer to the most interesting

question it raises — to wit, who was the lady?

There were many ladies in the life of Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester. Camden, the historian, in writing his obituary, speaks of him as "given awhile to women and in his latter days doting above measure on wiving." We have to search among these women for a lady of high rank who was a widow. Unfortunately for our purposes, there were two ladies who meet these requirements. The first of them was Douglas, widow of John, second Baron Sheffield, daughter of William, first Lord Howard of Effingham, and sister of the Lord

On this case, cf. n. 4, p. 19, below.

² Wm. Camden, Annales rerum anglicarum et hibernicarum regnante Elizabetha (1st complete English transl.; London, 1635), p. 373. (All references to Camden hereinafter are to this edition.) There are some indications that Camden's opinions about Leicester are taken from Leycesters Common-wealth; cf. anonymous life of Leicester, probably by Dr. Samuel Jebb (London, 1727), p. 105, n. f.

Charles Howard who led the English fleet against the Spanish Armada. She was, through the Howards, a cousin once removed to Queen Elizabeth. The second lady was Lettice, daughter of Sir Francis Knollys (Elizabeth's first cousin and treasurer of her household), widow of Walter, first earl of Essex, and mother of Robert, second earl, the darling of Elizabeth's declining years.2 If Douglas was the lady, then the letter might have been written at any time after her husband's death in 1568 and before Leicester's marriage in 1578; if Lettice, then it must have been written within the two years between the death of her husband in 1576 and her marriage to Leicester in 1578. There does not appear to have been any third lady who needs to be considered in this connection.

The truth about the relations between Douglas and Leicester is hard to discover, because most of what can be learned about them comes from people unfriendly to him. From two different sources the story comes down that Leicester was in love with Douglas before her widowhood and that he poisoned Sheffield, her husband, or had him poisoned. According to one version, Sheffield's sister picked up and read a letter which Douglas inadvertently dropped. It proved to be a letter from Leicester, in which he set forth not only his love for her but his determination to remove "that Obstacle which hindered the full Fruition of their Contentments." The story goes on to tell that the sister had warned her brother, but too late to save him from the poison cup prepared by his Italian physician at Leicester's instigation. The sister in question married into the Holles family, and the tale was set down a hundred years later by one of her connections.3 The other version is not so circumstantial but is to the same effect. It appeared in that scurrilous anonymous attack upon Leicester which was published in 1584 and which generally goes by the title of Leycesters

² The fullest account of Lettice is by J. G. Nichols, in The Gentleman's Magazine, N.S.,

There is a good account of Douglas Sheffield in Miscellanea Genealogica et Heraldica, ed. J. J. Howard (London), N.S., III (1880), 368 ff.

XXV (1846), 250 ff. 3 The connection in question was Gervase Holles, who prepared an account of his family in 1658 but never printed it. It was subsequently printed by Arthur Collins in Historical Collections of the Noble Families of Cavendishe, Holles, . . . (London, 1752). Gervase Holles was brought up by John Holles, who was the son of the sister of Sheffield. Cf., for this story, Collins, op. cit., pp. 77-78.

Common-wealth. There is no other evidence that Sheffield was poisoned, and nothing to show that any question about his death was raised at the time. It seems likely that, if he had been poisoned and if his sister knew about it, she would have done things about it.

In any event, it is clear that Douglas was deeply in love with Leicester five years later — so much so that the matter was openly talked of at court. Gilbert Talbot wrote to his father, the Earl of

Shrewsbury, in May of 1573:

My Lord Leicester is very much with her Majesty, and she shews the same great good affection to him that she was wont; of late he has endeavoured to please her more than heretofore. There are two sisters now in the Court that are very far in love with him, as they have been long; my Lady Sheffield and Frances Howard; they (of like striving who shall love him better) are at great wars together, and the Queen thinketh not well of them, and not the better of him; by this means there are spies over him.²

Six months later Douglas was with child, and on the seventh of August, 1574, gave birth to a son.³ No one questioned that Leicester was the father of the boy. He was acknowledged by both parents. The author of *Leycesters Common-wealth* says that there was another child, a daughter,⁴ and one of the witnesses at the star-chamber case in 1604 testified that an earlier child had been born in 1573 but had

² Edmund Lodge, Illustrations of British History, Biography, and Manners (2d ed.;

London, 1838), II, 17.

4 Leycesters Common-wealth, p. 29.

This pamphlet, which originally appeared under the title The copie of a leter, retten by a master of arte of Cambrige... concerning... the erle of Leycester and his friends in England, was published in 1584, probably in Antwerp. The second edition was published in London in 1641, under the title Leycesters Common-wealth (references hereinafter are to the 1641 edition). It was ascribed by contemporaries to Robert Parsons, the Jesuit, and currently known as Parsons' Green Coat because of the green edge of the paper. There is a manuscript in the State Papers, Domestic, Elizabeth (Public Record Office), which may be part of an original draft for this pamphlet. An abstract of the manuscript is printed in Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, Elizabeth and James I, Addenda, 1580-1625 (London, 1872), pp. 136-38. In this manuscript, Douglas Sheffield is confused with Amy Robsart, Leicester's first wife—a mistake that is set right in the pamphlet as printed. Sir Philip Sidney wrote a reply to Leycesters Common-wealth which appears in Sidney's Works, ed. Albert Feuillerat (Cambridge), III (1923), 61-71.

³ See Preface to *The Voyage of Robert Dudley*, . . . to the West Indies, 1594–1595, ed. Geo. F. Warner ("Works Issued by The Hakluyt Society," 2d Ser., No. III; London, 1899), for the best account of this lad and the date of his birth.

died very soon afterwards. This, however, Douglas Sheffield herself denied. There is, in any case, no doubt about the son. What is very much in doubt is whether he was born in lawful wedlock or not. The author of Leycesters Common-wealth says that Leicester and Douglas were as surely married "as Bed and Bible could make the same." 2 Douglas herself testified at the star-chamber case in 1604 that Leicester had contracted to marry her in 1571, and that later, in 1573, when she discovered herself to be with child, he had married her but had insisted upon absolute secrecy. "'For yf ye Queene,' sayde he, 'showlde knowe of it, I were undone & disgraced, & caste oute of Favoure for ever." 3 Douglas spoke, also, of a diamond ring which Leicester had given her in token of their contract and of numerous letters he had addressed to her as his wife. She does not seem to have produced either the ring or the letters, and the one eyewitness to the marriage whose testimony has been preserved was pretty certainly unreliable.4

The strongest evidence against the marriage is that Douglas allowed Leicester to abandon her and take another wife without protest, and that she herself took another husband. According to her own account, she was in fear of her life.5 Leicester, she swore, had tried to bribe her and had tried to poison her. But it is hard to believe that, if a woman of her position and her influence had had any rights to assert,

² Leycesters Common-wealth, p. 29.

I John Hawarde, Les Reportes del Cases in Camera Stellata, 1593 to 1600, ed. W. P. Baildon (London, 1894), pp. 208-9.

³ Hawarde, op. cit., p. 199. 4 Much of the testimony presented at the star-chamber trial is preserved in the Dudley papers at Longleat, and in the Dudley papers at Penshurst. None of it, unfortunately, has been calendared in the reports of those collections published by the Historical Manuscripts Commission. Cf. Hist. MSS Comm. Reports on the MSS of the Marquis of Bath and of Lord De L'Isle and Dudley. These Dudley papers were used by Dugdale in his account of the case in The Antiquities of Warwickshire (London, 1656), p. 167. There is also an account of the trial in Hawarde's Les Reportes, pp. 169-70, 198 ff. The best account of it is in The Voyage of Robert Dudley, pp. xxxix ff. Letters patent issued by Charles I, in 1644, created Alice, Lady Dudley, wife of Sir Robert Dudley (the son in question), a duchess of England. In these letters the evidence in support of Robert Dudley's legitimacy is briefly reviewed and his legitimacy admitted, but, by reason of the circumstances attending the issuance of the letters patent, this admission cannot be accorded much weight. The letters patent are printed in the anonymous life of Leicester (London, 1727), app. xiii. 5 Cf. Voyage of Robert Dudley, p. xlv; Hawarde, op. cit., p. 199; Dugdale, op. cit., p. 167.

she would have allowed them to go by default. It certainly is hard to believe that she would have missed the opportunity to strike at Leicester when he was so completely out of favor with Elizabeth just after his marriage to Lettice Knollys was disclosed. Sir Edward Stafford, who married Douglas in 1579, himself swore that Elizabeth had told Douglas she would force Leicester to marry her if she could produce evidence that he had contracted to marry her, but that Douglas herself had tearfully confessed to the Queen that she could not even prove a contract to marry, much less a marriage. On the whole, it seems unlikely that Leicester ever did marry Douglas.

He certainly married Lettice Knollys.³ According to Camden, he married her twice over. "For though it was reported that he had taken her to wife secretly, yet Sir Francis Knollys, who was father to Lettice and was acquainted with Leicester's straying loves, would not believe it (fearing lest he should delude his daughter) unless he might see the wedlock knit in his own presence with some few witnesses and a public notary." ⁴ The author of Leycesters Common-wealth says that Leicester seduced Lettice before her husband's death and had an illegitimate daughter by her.⁵ But there is no supporting evidence. Sidney Lee saw something sinister in the fact that Lettice, during her husband's absence in Ireland, was one of the guests assembled to meet Queen Elizabeth when Leicester entertained her at Kenilworth,⁶ but this seems rather farfetched. Certainly Leicester disliked Essex cordially and made a definite effort to keep him occupied in Ireland, and certainly Lettice did not accompany her husband on his campaigning and was in consequence separated from him most of the time between

¹ For the disclosure of this marriage by Simier, cf. Leycesters Common-wealth, p. 42; Camden, op. cit., p. 205.

² Voyage of Robert Dudley, p. xlv. The hatred of Stafford for Leicester comes out strongly in his diplomatic correspondence later; cf. "The Fame of Sir Edward Stafford," American Historical Review, XX, 292-313.

³ For depositions as to this marriage, see Hawarde, op. cit., p. 200, and app. xiii; Collins, *Peerage of England*, ed. Sir Egerton Brydges (London, 1812), IV, 461.

⁴ Camden, op. cit., p. 191.

⁵ Leycesters Common-wealth, p. 23.

⁶ Walter B. Devereux, Lives and Letters of the Devereux, Earls of Essex (London, 1853), I, 118. Sidney Lee's views are set forth in his article on Leicester in the Dictionary of National Biography.

his departure for Ireland in 1573 and his death in 1576. But Leicester disliked many people cordially, and even the most loyal of wives remain at home when their husbands go forth to war. It is rather surprising that when Essex on his deathbed wrote to the Queen and begged her to have a care for his children 2 he gave no thought to his wife; but he may have realized that Lettice was even then unpopular with Elizabeth.3 The most that can be said is that the absence of Essex did give Leicester and Lettice a favorable opportunity for "love dalliance," had they been so minded. The author of Leycesters Common-wealth accuses Leicester of poisoning Essex 4 (a charge which found some support at the time), but the indications are that he died of acute dysentery.5 In any case, Leicester did not marry Lettice until two years after her husband's death. It must be presumed that he was deeply in love with her or he would hardly have taken a step which he knew would bring down upon him the full measure of the Queen's wrath.

It can hardly be doubted that the letter printed below was addressed either to Douglas or to Lettice, to the lady he cast off or to the lady he married, to his "Old Testament" or to his "New Testament," as they were designated by the scandalmongers of the time. There is almost nothing in the letter to determine which of the two it was. Perhaps the best clue is the time element. The letter indicates that the affair between Leicester and the lady in question was a long one. Just when it began there is no way of telling, but it plainly antedated the lady's widowhood. Equally plainly, it passed through many vicissitudes after her widowhood. If we are to accept Leicester's statement

² *Ibid.*, pp. 141-42.

3 Ibid., p. 12. There is a good deal about the antipathy of Elizabeth towards Lettice in Rowland White's letters printed in Arthur Collins, Letters and Memorials of State, . . . col-

lected by Sir Henry Sydney, . . . (2 vols.; London, 1746).

4 Leycesters Common-wealth, pp. 23 ff.; Devereux, op. cit., I, 146. It is interesting to note that the tradition that Leicester poisoned Essex still persisted when Sir Robert Naunton wrote his Fragmenta Regalia some fifty years later. See Naunton's Fragmenta Regalia, ed. Edward Arber ("English Reprints," XX; London, 1870), p. 29.

⁵ Sir Henry Sidney, who instituted inquiry into the cause and manner of Essex' death, found no evidence of poison. Cf. his letter on the subject to Sir Francis Walsingham, printed in Collins, op. cit., I, 140–42. It must, however, be remembered that Sir Henry was Leicester's

brother-in-law and that the Sidneys were notoriously loyal to the Dudleys.

¹ Cf. life of Walter, 1st Earl of Essex, in Devereux, op. cit., I, passim.

of the facts in the case as substantially correct — and under the circumstances there can have been no point in his misrepresenting them - we must allow for a considerable lapse of time between the death of the lady's husband and the date when the letter was written. Very soon after the lady became a widow, Leicester told her plainly that he could not marry her, and she accepted an intimate relationship without marriage. The arrangement seems to have continued for some time, after which the lady became dissatisfied and pressed for more than Leicester was prepared to give. This led to further plain speaking from him and a consequent estrangement. The estrangement lasted for at least six months and perhaps for considerably longer. It was followed by a reconciliation, the reconciliation by further complaints from the lady, and the complaints by the letter before us. We cannot speak definitely in terms of the calendar, but it is difficult to believe that all these things could have taken place within the compass of less than two years.

Now, if we attempt to fit this picture into the facts as we know them about Leicester's affair with Douglas and his affair with Lettice, it is clear that, whereas we have an interval of nearly six years between the date when Douglas became a widow and the date when she bore Leicester a son, we have an interval of only two years between the death of Lettice's husband and her marriage to Leicester. There is nothing in the time interval implied by the letter that is inconsistent with the time interval admissible in the known history of the Douglas affair. But the letter can hardly be made to fit with what we know of the Lettice affair, for in that case we should have to include within the compass of two years not only all the vicissitudes outlined in the letter but a complete volte-face by Leicester subsequent to the writing of the letter and two separate marriages to Lettice. It will not fit. Douglas almost certainly was the lady to whom the letter was addressed.

It would have been better for Leicester's reputation had it been the other way about. In that case we could be fairly sure that Leicester was honest in what he wrote when he wrote it and that his love for the lady ultimately proved stronger than his interest in the royal favor. As it is, we cannot be sure that the letter was not simply the first step in a deliberate intention to rid himself of a lady he had ceased to love.

There is at least a suspicion in the postscript that Douglas — if it was indeed she - had begun to doubt Leicester's constancy, and it may be that he was even then looking towards Lettice. Yet it is difficult to believe from the tone of the letter that Douglas was already the mother of Leicester's child or was expecting to be. The temptation is to date the letter some time in the year 1573, perhaps about the time when Gilbert Talbot wrote to his father that the love of Douglas for Leicester was common gossip in court circles. It may have been earlier; it cannot have been much later. What happened between Douglas and Leicester after the letter was written we can only guess at. Certainly they had a son. Leicester may have given Douglas some promise of his intention to marry her, he may even have given her a ring in pledge of his faith; but it is almost certain that he never bound himself to her by any formal contract, virtually certain that he did not marry her, and absolutely certain that he cast her off.

My good frend, hardly was I brought to wryte in this sort unto you lest you might conceave otherwyse therof than I meane yt, but more loth am I to conceale any thinge from you that both honesty and trew good wyll doth

bynd me to Imparte unto you.

I have, as you well know, longe both loved and lyked you, and found alway that faythfull and ernest affectyonne at yor hand ageyne that bounde me greatly to you. This good wyll of myne, what soever you have thought, hath not changed from that yt was at ye beginninge toward you. And I trust, after yor wydowed beganne uppon the first occasione of my cominge to you, I dyd plainly and trewly open unto you in what sort my good wyll shuld and might alway remayne to you, and shewing you such reasons as then I had for ye performance of myne Intent, aswell as ever synce. Hit seamed yt you had fully resolved with yor self to dyspose yor self accordingly, with owt any further expectacon or hope of other dealing. From wch tyme you have framed yor self in such sort toward me as was veary much to my contentacon. And I dyd with my former mynd also contynewe my good wyll & determynació toward you. And so withowt difference or questyone ever since hath hit passed betwene us, tyll as you ca remember this last yere at one tyme uppon a casuall dowbt you pressed me in a further degre than was our condytyone, wherein I dyd plainly and trewly deall with you. Some un-

In the transcription of the letter, a few abbreviations have been expanded, superior letters have been lowered, the use of "u" and "v" has been modernized, and a minimum of punctuation and capitalization has been inserted.

kindnes beganne and after, a greater strangenes fell owt, though, as I have told you synce, for other respectes, for notwtstanding yt first unkindnes we dyd often mete in frendly sort and you resolved not to press me more with yt matter, but so great myslyke and grefe you tooke of ye latter strangenes, wch contynewed in dede only on my parte for this v or vi months tyll of late yt I partly shewyd you the cause, as you thought the good wyll I bare you had cleane byn changed & withdrawen, in such sort as you often moved me by letters and otherwyse to shew you some cause or to deall plainly with you what I intended toward you. The troth ys I dyd long forbear, as you know, not without great and weighty occasione touching nerely my self, to determyne one answere or other tyll tyme convenyently for me might [i]ssue (and here by the way I must confes the shew of yor great good wyll in this tyme was such as moved me not lesse to esteme you tha before). In the end tyme brought oportunytye mete to lett you know ye cause of my long strangenes, wch I dyd open trewly & plainly and theruppon a reconcyllyacon was made betwene us, and werre become such frendes as we had byn before withowt any newe or other condycyon; wch tyme ys not yet long synce, for manny days ar not past since our first meting for this last reconcyllyacon. Notwithstanding, uppon occasione of talke wch passed frome you at ye last being with you of all, hit seamed to me that you have ye same mynde that you werr in this last year, wych bredd than some difference betwene us. Whearuppon I have synce thorowly weyed and considered both yor owen and myne estate, and god ys my Judge that I doe yt with a most trew and honest mynd unto you, as one that ys bound both in honor and honesty to deall in this sort as I meane to open here unto you; and doe protest that my affectyonne was never greater toward you otherwyse since my first aquaintaunce with you than now yt ys. But I wold be loth to lyve so to deall with such a one as I know you ar, and as I must confes you have Justly given me cause, that hearafter for lacke of trewe and honest dealing may work you more wrong than shall lye in my power ageyn by all ye ways I can, to make you recompence. God forbyd I shuld eny way be found so unthankfull. For albeyt I have byn and yet am a man frayll, yet am I not voyd of conscience toward god, nor honest meaninge toward my frend; and havinge made spetyall choyce of you to be one of ye derest to me, so much ye more care must I have to dyschardge the office dew unto you. And in this consideracon of ye case betwixt you and me, I am to wey of yor mynd & my mynd, to se as nere as may be yt nether of us be deceaved. And finding some dowbt by yor last speaches that you conceave otherwyse now than you have donne heretofore, to procede to some further degre than ys possible for me, without myne utter overthrow, to thinke mete or to allow of, as I have both at the

first and sondry tymes since plainly declared to you, I think yt my part for honesty and trewths sake and also for respect of yor estate, both to resolve you for ye one, and to put you in remembraunce of theother, being as I have sayd bound in good wyll, and also knowing what you have and doe suffer for my sake only. And therfore to ye first, I must this conclude, that ye same I was at ye begining the same I am styll toward you, and to no other or further end can yt be looked for. For you must think hit ys some marvellous cause, and toucheth my present state yeary nere, that forceth me thus to be cause almost of ye Ruyne of my none howse; for ther ys no lykelyhoode that any of our boddyes of me kind lyke to have ayres; my brother you se long maryed and not lyke to have Children, yt resteth so now in my self; and yet such occasions ys ther, as partly I have told you or now, as yf I shuld marry I am seuer never to have fauor of them that I had rather yet nev have wyfe thã Lose them, yet ys ther nothing in the world next that favor that I wold not gyve to be in hope of leaving some children behind me, being now ye last of our howse. But yet the cause being as yt ys I must content my self, and cannott but shew my full determynación to you that you ashewredly may knowe my mynd and resolucyone as vt vs, and so may consider thorowly what ys mete and best for you, seing for my none parte for no respect I can be otherwyse that in yt sort I have byn heretofore. This much for my self. Now for ye second, wch concerneth yor self. Yor mynd I may not Judge of. But yor case and state I wyll lev before you as yf I werre to say for my self, and yet so must I speake ageinst my self in some respect, but I know you can conceave well Inough what soever I shall forbear. I wyll leave owt here yor casuall depending on me, for all men be mortall and therby etc.; but put you in remembraunce what yor self hath somtymes remembred, and wch ys trewe. Looke to yor personne, yor youthfull tyme to be consumed and spent withowt certentye, who can give yt or recover yt to you ageyne; the dayly accydentes yt happ by greving and vexing you, both to the hinderaunce of yor boddy and mynde; ye care and comber of yor owen causes ungoverned; the subjectyone you ar in to all reportes to ye touch of yor good name and fame. These be the respectes that be ordynary to yor owen consideracon, and cannott but be thought of whan the examynacon of yor case & state comes in questyon. Now you hear this partycularyties rehersed, wch ys easy to every man, you wyll aske for remedye. The remedy ys to be had according to yor dyspocytyone, wch yf I dyd certenly knowe tha wold I adventure further, but I confes therin I am no competent Judge. Only this I wyll say, that for my sake you have and doe refuse as good remedyes as ar prsently in our tyme to be had. The choyce falles not oft, and yet I know you may have now of ve best: and as yt vs not my parte to byd you take them, so wer

yt not myne honesty, considering my none resolucyon, to byd you refuse them; nether werr yt well donne of me to conceall my mynd now from you, perceaving so much as I dyd by yor talk this last tyme, whereby to abuse you. To carry you away for my pleasure to yor more great and further grefe hearafter were to great a shame for me, whan being to late knowe the lake cowld not so easily be supplyed as now yt may, having both tyme and occasione offred you, nether shuld my repentaunce be excusable whan no recompence cowld be made on my part suffycyent to make satysfactyone. Now I have frely and plainly opened my hart unto you, wch shall much content and quyett me, being donne, god I call to record, uppon a sound and most faythfull love toward you, as one yt lyketh much to eniove you and not to betray you. And so I hope you wyll conceave and accept of my meaning and to consider thorowly and depely of this matter, and to examyne yor self every way, and than lett me know yor mynde; for whan you have made yor ellectyone you shall fynd me a most wylling and reddy frend to performe all good offices toward you, according to my promysse at ye beginning of yor lyberty. And so for this tyme I comytt to ye almyghty who alway presarve & kepe you as I wolde my self.

Yors as much as he was

R. L.

I pray you think, and so I doe faythfully assure you, this doth ryse uppon no other cause in the world but uppon yor last spech with me, by wch my thought yt semed you conceaved somewhat; and werr not honest for me to leave you in dowbt, being resolved as I am and ever have byn for certen, otherwyse & in all thinges the same I was I wylbe.

A Small Handful of Fragrant Flowers (1575)

By HYDER E. ROLLINS

SMALL Handful of Fragrant Flowers (1575), an octavo of sixteen pages, has apparently survived in only one copy, that in the Huntington Library. It has had a distinguished list of owners, having been in the famous private libraries of Bindley, Perry, Heber, Jolley, Corser, and Christie-Miller before making its journey to California; and has once been reprinted — by Thomas Park in the first volume of Heliconia. Comprising a Selection of English Poetry of the Elizabethan Age (London, 1815). The cataloguer of Heber's library 2 gives a disparaging account of Park's reprint, which he declares "is disfigured by at least 150 variations from the original, some of them of importance to the sense." Thomas Corser, however, asserts that he collated Park's text with the original and found errors "perhaps amounting to about twenty in all, but not more than two, or three at the very most, are at all essential to the sense, the variations being chiefly the dropping of the final e in such words as whiche or coulde, the i for y, and some few changes in the stops." But Corser's judgment is much too charitable.

The presumably unique Huntington Library copy has been closely trimmed, so that the running titles are shaved on signatures A 2^v, A 7, and A 8^v. Furthermore, various letters are poorly impressed, or else were dropped from the form before the sheets were printed.⁴ An early owner, probably the John Dullyngham whose autograph is on the title-page, attempted to supply some of the missing letters.

It has Jolley's bookplate. See Sotheby's sale-catalogue of the Britwell (S. R. Christie-Miller) library (Dec. 16, 1919, lot 5), I, 127, and *Book-Prices Current* (London), XXXIV (1920), 112, where the book is said to be unique, the author Breton, the purchaser G. D. Smith of New York, and the price £980.

² Bibliotheca Heberiana (London, 1834), Pt. IV, lot 110. ³ Collectanea Anglo-Poetica, Pt. III (Chetham Society, Vol. LXXI [1867]), p. 7.

⁴ A list of the dropped letters appears on the following page.

The title *Handful* seems to have been especially attractive to Elizabethan authors and their publishers. One well-known example is the miscellany called *A Handful of Pleasant Delights*, of 1584, which was originally issued, though perhaps under a different title, in 1566. *A Gorgeous Gallery of Gallant Inventions* was first entered at Stationers' Hall on June 5, 1577, under the name of "a handefull of hidden Secretes conteigninge therein certaine Sonetes." *A Handful of Honeysuckles* was the subtitle of William Hunnis' *Seven Sobs of a Sorrowful Soul for Sin* in 1583, while Anne Wheathill's *A Handful of Wholesome* (*Though Homely*) *Herbs* was published in 1584. The first two of these titles belonged to works that Richard Jones printed, and it is interesting that he likewise printed and published *A Small Handful of Fragrant Flowers*.

John Grange, in *The Golden Aphroditis* (1577), a novel published by Henry Bynneman, is clearly imitating N. B.'s little book when he calls his own work (signature A 3) "a handfull of fragrant floures (though not gathered in *Adonis* garden) the chiefe vyhereof are Primeroses and Violettes," and when later (N 2") he remarks, "I have brought vnto your honor a handfull of fragrant floures, *Videlicet*,

Primroses and Violets." 3

¹ Licensed on December 11, 1578: see Mrs. C. C. Stopes, William Hunnis, p. 209 (in W. Bang, Materialien zur Kunde des älteren Englischen Dramas, XXIX [1910]).

² According to Edward Arber, A Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London (London), II (1875), 430, it was licensed on January 22, 1584, as "By Bretton [or ?Dretton]."

³ Compare, also, the dedicatory comments in Robert Cawdrey's *A Treasurie Or Storehouse of Similies* (1600): "Euen so I also, out of my simple Garden, haue chosen and gleaned a handfull of Flowers, as it were a Nosegay (the best present I haue) to Dedicate & offer vnto you."

That anybody but Grange admired or imitated it seems unlikely. The verse is meager and altogether undistinguished. The diction is commonplace, except for a few words and usages that have some historical interest. Thus, to the examples in A New English Dictionary should be added cerce (searce, sieve) at signature A 2v, as well as the following words, whose use here antedates any cited in that work: dusky, dark (1580), at A 8v; sempiternity, perpetuity (1599), at A 7v; warrantise (1580), at A 5v. Pamphlet, a poem (A 2), and the verb interfight (A 8v) are not to be found in the dictionary.

G. T. speaks temperately of the merits of the pamphlet:

Accept I craue this litle booke that I present to you. And though it be of value small, or simple to your sight, ...

Small and simple and unimportant it undoubtedly is, yet the tiny book perhaps merits some attention from scholars for the problems of authorship it raises.

Actually, it seems to be, not the work of one man, but a miscellany

of six distinct parts:

1. A title-page (signature A 1), evidently composed by the printer Jones with an eye to advertising posts:

[Within borders of type-ornaments] A SMALE/ handfull of fragrant/ Flowers, felected and gathered/ out of the louely garden of facred fcrip-/ tures, fit for any Honorable or/woorshipfull Gentlewo-/man to fmell vnto./ Dedicated for a Newe-/ yeeres gyft, to the honorable/ and vertuous Lady, the Lady/ Sheffeeld./ By N. B./ ¶Imprinted at London, by Richard/ Iones. And are to be folde/ at his fhop, at the South-/ west doore of/ Paules./ 1575./

 A dedication to Lady Sheffield by N. B. (A IV).
 A commendatory poem, "¶Iohn Parcels pamphlet in the/ prayse of this handful of flowres" (A 2).1

I One might guess that he was the "I. P." who wrote a ballad included in A Handful of Pleasant Delights (1584), ed. Rollins (Cambridge, Mass., 1924), pp. 15-19.

4. "¶The booke to the Reader" (A 3), unsigned, but probably either by Jones 1 or by the "Author," G. T., beginning:

Since I poore booke am put into thy hand, although the tome or volume litle bee, Yet Reader deare that I be throughly scand with zelous minde I begge and craue of thee Ne seeme to iudge or sentence thyne to frame, Before throughout thou do peruse the same.

5. "The Author to his Lady/ in verse" (A 3v-A 4v; thirty septenary couplets), signed "G. T.," beginning:

In auncient tyme the golden guise of Matrons great renowen,
Was for to striue in vertues schoole, who should enioye the crowne:
So that eche braunche of noblenes, surpassed in those dayes.
Because they sought by their attempt to winne immortall praise.

6. Two poems, "¶The names of all the flowres/ conteyned in this posie, with the/ proper vse therof" (A 5-A 8; twenty-five six-line stanzas), beginning,

Deare Dames, your senses to reuiue, accept these Flowers in order heare, Then for the time you are aliue renowne your golden dayes shall beare: Marke therefore what they haue to name, and learne to imitate the same,

and " A prayer for gentlewomen/ and others to vie, whereby through/ the helpe of the deuine grace, they may/ atteyne the right sente of this posie of/ Godly Flowers" (A 8-A 8"; four six-line stanzas), beginning,

Vouchsafe, O Lorde, to be our guyde, thy spirite of grace into vs powre,

composed either by the "Author," G. T., who in his preliminary lines (A 4") asks his lady to accept "this litle booke that I present to you"

¹ For similar verses by Jones, see "The Printer to the Reader" in A Handful of Pleasant Delights, p. 2.

as a "pledge of my good will, with humble dutie due," or else by N. B.; or perhaps G. T. wrote the first poem, N. B. the concluding prayer.

The Small Handful, then, is a curious and puzzling book, with the N. B. who is mentioned on the title-page demonstrably accountable for only one of the six parts — the dedication. To be sure, his language is far from clear. Thus, he tells Lady Sheffield that the book is "the godly worke of a simple scholler, willing by dayly practise to grow vnto more & exacter ripenes of vnderstāding" — perhaps a reference to himself, perhaps to G. T. He praises that lady's readiness "to prefer the base & coūtrey mās pen, to the end that I might hereafter take the more hart of grace, to attempt a more substantial peece of worke." These statements might be interpreted as meaning that N. B. was a book-seller who arranged for the publication of the Small Handful to honor his patroness, not that he wrote any of its poems. He can hardly have been the "Author," since that phrase is definitely applied to G. T., but he may have written the final poem in part 6.

It would be a natural guess to identify G. T. as the once-cele-brated poet George Turbervile, though to substantiate the identification or to explain why or how Turbervile was concerned with the printed book is hardly possible. At least, it seems more reasonable to suppose that a certain G. T. wrote the poems in parts 5 and 6 and that a certain N. B. obtained and published them as a compliment to Lady Sheffield, than it is to identify this N. B. with Nicholas Breton.

Both the title-page and the dedication are assigned to an unqualified "N. B.," whereas Breton's other publications insistently use the style "N. B., Gent." In the "Primordium" to The Works of a Young Wit (1577), "N. B., Gentleman," who was certainly Breton, explicitly describes that volume as the "first tyme that I sturd my brayne" and as the "first fruites of my brayne"—statements that make any connection between him and the Small Handful out of the question. The style of the dedication and of the verse is totally unlike Breton's. Specifically, the biblical allusions are foreign to his manner, as is also the Latinized diction; while it is practically impossible that rimes like "diligence: preheminence," "continually: indifferently," "sempiternitie: certayntie" could have come from his pen. Furthermore, the dedication to a patroness with whom Breton had no known relations is a strong argument against his identification with N. B.

Douglas Sheffield,¹ the noble lady in question, was a daughter of William, first Baron Howard of Effingham. She became the wife of John, second Baron Sheffield, who died in 1568. At court she and her sister Frances,² a maid of honor, attracted unfavorable attention by their rivalry for the affections of Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester. Thus, as early as May 11, 1573, a correspondent informed the Earl of Shrewsbury:

My Lord Leicester is very much with her Majesty, and she shews the same great good affection to him that she was wont; of late he has endeavoured to please her more than heretofore. There are two sisters now in the Court that are very far in love with him, as they have been long; my Lady Sheffield and Frances Howard; they (of like striving who shall love him better) are at great wars together, and the Queen thinketh not well of them, and not the better of him.³

In the winter of 1573—some two years before the *Small Handful* was published—the "right Honorable and vertuous Lady," Douglas Sheffield, is supposed to have married Leicester, and her son, known as Sir Robert Dudley (died 1649), was born on August 7, 1574.⁴ The Earl never acknowledged Douglas as his wife, though he admitted his paternity of the boy Robert. Instead, he is said to have offered her £700 a year to disown the marriage, and rumor had it that, when she indignantly refused the bribe, he attempted to poison her. At any rate, Leicester married Lettice Knollys, the widowed Countess of Essex, on September 21, 1578, and a year later (November 29, 1579)

¹ For a longer account of Douglas Sheffield and her liaison with Leicester, see above,

pp. 16-20.

² Who was the second wife of Edward Seymour, Earl of Hertford. An acrostic poem written in her honor appears in *Brittons Bowre of Delights*: 1591, sig. E 1; 1597, sig. D 2. In my edition of *Brittons Bowre* (Cambridge, Mass., 1933), pp. 90–91, I wrongly identified the Frances Howard of that poem with the daughter of Thomas Howard, Viscount Howard of Bindon, who in 1601 became the Earl of Hertford's third wife and, later, Duchess of Lennox and Richmond.

³ Edmund Lodge, Illustrations of British History, Biography, and Manners (London,

1838), 11, 17.

⁴ In the *Dictionary of National Biography*, and elsewhere, he is said to have been born two days after the marriage, but the facts are presented accurately in Vicary Gibbs's *The Complete Peerage* (London), VII (1929), 550-51. Douglas died in December, 1608, and on December 11 was buried at St. Margaret's, Westminster. For her will, see *Miscellanea Genealogica et Heraldica*, ed. J. J. Howard (London), N.S., III (1880), 368-70.

Lady Sheffield married Sir Edward Stafford of Grafton. There is no reason to believe that Breton was in any way associated with her, but she is probably the lady praised by G. T., on signature A 4, as one who "serues most fit in Court... to tende vpon a Queene." The "posy" on signatures A 5-A 8 seems to be addressed to court ladies in general,

. . . . ye Ladies of degree, and honors nimphes within the place, Whereas that pearles dame may bee, which al the Goddes inspire with grace —

the "pearles dame" being, of course, Queen Elizabeth. In 1575 Breton was hardly in a position to know or to compliment in verse the

ladies of the royal court.

Breton's authorship has been asserted by a few scholars, none of whom, however, takes into account the mystery of Master G. T. Joseph Ritson ² listed the book under Breton's name — purely, one suspects, because of the initials N. B. To that writer it has likewise been assigned by Thomas Corser, Professor F. E. Schelling, and Miss Eva March Tappan. But Thomas Park, reprinting the Small Handful in 1815, declared that he ascribed it to Breton because of the initials on the title-page and from that presumptive attestation only, as its style is very different from that of Breton's later work. It need hardly be remarked that the initials N. B. are in themselves no proof whatever that Breton wrote the works to which they are appended. Pollard and Redgrave, in their Short-Title Catalogue, put the pamphlet under Breton's name but add, in brackets, Anon. A. B. Grosart, editing Breton's works, suggested that N. B. represented Nathanael Baxter; and Samuel Halkett and John Laing Total Redgrave in the pamphlet and John Laing Total Redgrave in the pamphlet and John Laing Total Redgrave in Halkett an

I Gibbs, loc. cit.

² Bibliographia Poetica (London, 1802), pp. 138-39.

3 Collectanea Anglo-Poetica, Pt. III, pp. 5-7.

5 PMLA, XIII (1898), 321.

⁶ They occur, by the way, at the beginning of a poem in A Gorgeous Gallery of Gallant Inventions (1578), ed. Rollins (Cambridge, Mass., 1926), p. 88.

7 Dictionary of Anonymous and Pseudonymous English Literature (London and Edinburgh), V (1929), 292.

⁴ The Life and Writings of George Gascoigne (Boston, 1893), p. 53, n. 4.

evidently have the same person in mind, although they call him Nicholas Baxter.

Nathaniel Baxter, tutor in Greek to Sir Philip Sidney, is supposed to have been born about 1550 and to have died about 1633. He signed the initials "N. B." to Sir Philip Sydneys Ourania (1606), but there is, so far as I am aware, no evidence for ascribing any part of the Small Handful to him. The style and tone of the dedication, to be sure, are much more like Baxter's acknowledged poetry than like Breton's, and his connection with Sidney, who was the Earl of Leicester's nephew, lends countenance to the belief that he, unlike Breton, could have known Lady Sheffield well enough to dedicate a book to her. According to the Dictionary of National Biography, however, Baxter was graduated from Magdalen College, Oxford, in 1569. His learning is further attested by his having been Greek tutor of Sidney. Hence, even if he did write the dedication, and even allowing for Elizabethan conventions of modest understatement, he can hardly have been referring to himself as a young and unskilful husbandman, a simple scholar, a base and country man. He must have been referring, instead, to G. T.

In the poem signed by the "Author," G. T., certain historical or biblical women are named as types to emulate, and one cryptic passage (signature A 3") apparently confuses Triata with Artemisia, wife

of Mausolus:

And next to her [Lucrece], that pearle of price, which Triata had to name.

By constant loue to Mansolus to doth manifest the same.

Thirdly, queene Artimesia reapt the Scepter by desert,

That could as well as all the rest, most finely play her part.

The "secondly" implied in the first of these lines, and the "thirdly" definitely mentioned in the fifth, indicate that G. T. connected Mausolus, not with Artemisia, but with Triata. The latter heroine

¹ Probably a mere misprint. Compare Arthur Warren, *The Poore Mans Passions* (1605), sig. F 3^v, "Mansolus hath but fading Monument."

reappears on signature A 6, but with nothing to show whether the confusion of the earlier reference is or is not present:

The second budde is modestie, which Triata did muche delyght. And furnished the companie, of many a Romane matrone bright.

I suppose that G. T. got his information about Triata from Thomas Fortescue's *The Forest or Collection of Historyes* (signature N 1), a translation (from French) of Pedro Mexia's Spanish work, which was published in 1571 and 1576: ¹

In the life of the Emperours we also read, that *Lucius Vitellius*, brother to the Emperoure *Vitellius*, beeing on a night in a perillous battail, his wife which hight *Triata*, by the great and inspeakable force of looue only, came thrusting in among the Souldiours to aid and assist *Vitellius*, minding in \dot{y} strait to liue or dye with him, where she then so did her painfull indeuour, that she vtterly forgat all Feminine debilitie, with small account of her life or safetie without her husband.

"Triata" is a mistake for "Triaria." The name is given with approximate correctness by Thomas Bowes: 2

Triara, wife to Lucius Vitellus brother to the emperour Vitellus, seeying hir husband in a daungerous battell, thrust hir selfe amongst the souldiours to beare him company, and to helpe him both in death and life, and fought as well as the valiauntest amongst them.

That G. T. knew nothing about Triaria apart from Fortescue's words may be deduced from the fact that, according to Tacitus,³ she was noted, not for modesty, but for "shameless behavior" and unwomanly cruelty. But since Triata, Lucrece, the Queen of Sheba, and Susanna are stressed in G. T.'s signed poem and in the unsigned posy, probably G. T. wrote both.

In any case, Nicholas Breton had nothing to do with A Small Handful of Fragrant Flowers. His literary work plainly began some

two years later.

¹ I have seen only the 1576 edition. ² The French Academie (1586), sig. Ll 4, translating Pierre de la Primaudaye's Academie Françoise (1582 ed.), fol. 249°. See also Robert Allot, Wits Theater of the little World (1599), sig. P 5°.

3 Histories, II, 63, 64, III, 77.



The Dramatic Construction of *Poetaster*

By OSCAR JAMES CAMPBELL

HE following analysis of Ben Jonson's *Poetaster* has a limited aim. Its purpose is to study the play as one of the author's attempts to give satire an effective dramatic form. His effort forms part of a movement initiated by a number of playwrights about the year 1600 and continued during the first decade of the seventeenth century, the object of which was to evade the legal restraint put upon satirists of all sorts by the famous order of the ecclesiastical authorities issued on June 1, 1599. Besides placing numerous works, including those by Hall, Marston, Nashe, and Gabriel Harvey, on a kind of English "Index," it forbade the further printing of all "Satyres or Epigrams." Despite the apparent success of this prohibition, the satiric spirit that had been so vigorously abroad in England during the preceding decade could not be thus artificially quenched. Almost at once it found in the drama a new and equally efficacious instrument for its expression.

Jonson was clearly a leader in this movement to preserve the methods, the spirit, and the salutary moral objectives of the forbidden formal satire in a form of comedy specially designed for the purpose. Every Man Out of His Humour, written in the second half of the year 1599, was apparently the first work dedicated to this program. Its descriptive title of "Comicall Satyre" indicates a conscious effort on

Jonson's part to enable comedy to achieve the ends of satire.

Already, in Every Man in His Humour, he had created representatives of many sorts of affectation and ostentation. In Every Man Out, he exhibited organized social folly largely through depicting the ill-starred campaigns of the pretenders to force recognition from the elect. In Cynthia's Revels a cultivated but profligate society assumed a more definite form. As an attractive decorative novelty, Jonson added to his picture of a stratified social organism, in this comedy, a masque-like idealization of the Queen and her court. Poetaster takes

its place in this series of "Comicall Satyre[s]." Jonson's conflict with his rivals among the playwrights was probably the impulse in which the composition of this comedy originated, and it rendered more numerous and complicated the elements which the author was forced to unify. Yet the principles of construction which he adopted are in great measure free from the influence of this conflict. Therefore, before the significance of even this episode can be accurately determined, it is obvious that the dramatic structure of the piece should be made clear and the way in which this construction has been used to implement Jonson's satire should be understood. To these two intimately related problems this study is devoted.

The critics have consistently obscured the dramatic outlines of *Poetaster*. By regarding it primarily as a document in the stage quarrel between Jonson and certain rival playwrights, they have seriously distorted it. Approached from this point of view, the comedy has seemed to lack coherent structure, to be a mere collection of disjointed elements. Herford and Simpson refer to "its hurried and disorderly composition." Castelain gives more extended expression

to this conventional view:

Une reconstitution plus ou moins exacte de la vie d'Ovide; une traduction ou, si l'on préfère, une adaptation de deux Satires d'Horace; quelques scènes de moeurs bourgeoises qui n'ont rien de particulièrement romain; un personnage bouffon, qui ressemble beaucoup à un Anglais; un dénouement burlesque dont la bouffonnerie aristophanesque est assez répugnante; le tout entremêlé de beaux vers, et farci d'allusions littéraires, j'entends d'attaques personnelles contre tel ou tel, voilà en somme un mélange plus abondant que savoureux.²

It would be strange if Jonson in his third effort to compose his new form of "Comicall Satyre" achieved no closer dramatic unity than that credited to him by such critics. It is improbable that even a fervid determination to lampoon his professional detractors led him to ignore all the normal demands of an audience; or that a pedantic eagerness to present a scholarly, accurate picture of Augustan literary

² Maurice Castelain, Ben Jonson: L'Homme et l'oeuvre (1572-1637) (Paris, 1907), p. 279.

¹ The best book on the poetomachia continues to be R. A. Small's The Stage-Quarrel between Ben Jonson and the So-called Poetasters (Forschungen zur englischen Sprache und Litteratur, I [Breslau, 1899]).

circles obliterated temporarily all his knowledge of stagecraft. The object of the present study is to find, if possible, a structural principle in *Poetaster* which will give its apparently disparate elements a firmer intellectual and dramatic unity than has been evident to most modern commentators.¹

To regard the play primarily as a document in the history of the poetomachia is natural; Jonson himself suggests this avenue of approach. In the quarto version of the prologue he explicitly announced that the play was his answer to "base Detractors, and illiterate Apes, . . . 'Gainst these, haue we put on this forc't defense." In the Apologeticall Dialogue, first printed in the folio of 1616, "which was only once spoken vpon the stage, and all the answere I euer gaue, to sundry impotent libells then cast out (and some yet remayning) against me, and this Play," the author expands his explanation of the inception of this comedy. For three years, he says, these hostile poetasters had provoked him on every stage, until, wearied with their attacks, he unwillingly wrote this defense. As a matter of fact, Jonson evidently got wind of the planned appearance of Dekker's Satiro-mastix and, by working for fifteen weeks with speed unusual for him, anticipated the

¹ John Palmer (*Ben Jonson* [London, 1934], p. 56) does assert that the play possesses effective dramatic unity. He writes, "There are two themes to the play, held together by skilful plotting and unity of interest." Yet he makes no effort to show just what this skill is or how the asserted "unity of interest" has been achieved.

² Poetaster or The Arraignment: As it hath beene sundry times privately acted in the Blacke Friers, by the children of her Maiesties Chappell. Composed, by Ben. Iohnson (London, 1602),

Prologue, sig. A 3.

3 "By December 21, 1601, when *Poetaster* was entered on the *Stationers' Register*, the Dialogue had been composed, but not yet suffered to be spoken or to be set up in type." (*Poetaster*, ed. Herbert S. Mallory ["Yale Studies in English," XXVII; New York, 1905], p. 235.)

4 "To the Reader," ll. 3-6. (Ben Jonson, ed. C. H. Herford and Percy Simpson [Oxford],

IV [1932], 317.)

They did prouoke me with their petulant stiles
On euery stage: And I at last, vnwilling,
But weary, I confesse, of so much trouble,

Thought, I would try, if shame could winne vpon 'hem."

("Apologeticall Dialogue," ll. 96–100 [Herford and Simpson, Jonson, IV, 320].)

⁶ These fifteen weeks probably began after the production of Cynthia's Revels, which took place no later than March, 1600/1. Poetaster would thus have been ready for production in either June or July of 1601. Cf. Small, op. cit., p. 25.

dramatic satire of his opponents, and disordered the plans of the Chamberlain's Company by having Poetaster acted in the latter half of the year 1601, by the children of Queen Elizabeth's Chapel, some time before the rival company was ready to produce Satiro-mastix. Theatrical events, then, as well as Jonson's own comments, directed the critics to the task of identifying the principal figures in the play with persons involved with the author. Crispinus was immediately recognized as Marston, Demetrius as Dekker, and Horace as Jonson. These equivalencies have been universally accepted. But their importance has been exaggerated. Such dramatis personae are primarily citizens of a Roman world. Only on occasion do their activities and utterances run exactly parallel to those of Jonson and his contemporaries. Any other satiric procedure would contradict all that he ever wrote about the nature and purpose of satire. He explains the methods which he uses in *Poetaster* by a reassertion of the principles he had earlier enunciated. He denies categorically the accusation that he has

The Law, and Lawyers; Captaines; and the Players By their particular names.

He admits that the comedy was written against some pestilent fellows whom he scorns to name; but he insists that he accomplishes his purpose by sparing the persons, "to speake" the vices.

And therefore chose Avgvstvs Caesars times, When wit, and artes were at their height in Rome, To shew that Virgil, Hörace, and the rest Of those great master-spirits did not want Detractors, then, or practisers against them: And by this line (although no paralel) I hop'd at last they would sit downe, and blush.²

Some critics believe that, whenever an Elizabethan dramatist protests his innocence of lampoon, he is palpably disingenuous. In *Poetaster*, however, the action and the characters corroborate Jonson's contention.³

² Ibid., ll. 101-7 (ibid., p. 320). ³ The earlier critics made efforts to identify many characters in this play with contemporaries of Jonson. F. G. Fleay (A Biographical Chronicle of the English Drama, 1559-1642).

[&]quot; "Apologeticall Dialogue," ll. 82-83 (Herford and Simpson, Jonson, IV, 319).

A critic's first task is thus to re-establish Crispinus, Demetrius, and Horace in both their narrow dramatic context of this particular play and the larger one of Jonson's satiric drama. The initial impulse to recreate the manners, temper, and taste of Augustan Rome was undoubtedly the one which he followed. It was an effort to emancipate this "Comicall Satyre" from what the critics have often seen in it offensive personal lampoon. Yet the prominence which he gives to Ovid is neither accidental nor infelicitous. Poetaster is an expression of the devices of social satire that Jonson had developed and mastered in the humor plays and in Cynthia's Revels. Ovid is the central figure in the main plot because he and Julia are the leaders of the courtly, dissolute society. Besides, he was the source and fountainhead of that libertine tradition of the Renaissance which as a final triumph spawned the gallants and witty women of the court of Charles II and their nearrelatives in Restoration drama. Ovid's Amores and De Arte Amandi formed the Book of Hours for those who considered the art of love the whole duty of man and the sole interest of woman. Both the erotic poetry of England during the 1590's, and the satire of lust during the same decade, suggest that many persons of high social position were frankly expressing in their lives Ovid's philosophy of love. Nashe, in his Anatomie of Absurditie, apparently recognizing this dangerous influence of the Roman poet, suggests that Ovid's exile and disgrace might be used to point a salutary moral lesson. Jonson similarly

"When as lust is the tractate of so many leaues, and loue passions the lauish dispence of so much paper, I must needes sende such idle wits to shrift to the vicar of S. Fooles, who in steede of a worser may be such a Gothamists ghostly Father. Might Ouids exile admonish such Idlebies to betake them to a new trade, the Presse should be farre better employed, etc." (The Works of Thomas Nashe, ed. R. B. McKerrow [London, 1904–(10)], I, 10. Quoted C. R. Baskervill, English Elements in Jonson's Early Comedy [University of Texas "Studies")

in English," I; Austin, 1911], p. 294, in a slightly different connection.)

[[]London, 1891]) was the foremost of these literal-minded interpreters. J. H. Penniman (The War of the Theatres [Boston, 1897], chap. VIII) is also lavish with these identifications. Almost without exception they are farfetched. What is worse, they betray a misconception of the nature of Poetaster. One further identification, however, does deserve a brief notice. Dekker asserts, indirectly to be sure, that Tucca represents a now utterly obscure Captain Hannam: "I wonder what language Tucca would have spoke, if honest Capten Hannam had bin borne without a tongue? Ist not lawfull then for mee to imitate Horace, as Horace Hannam?" (Satiro-mastix. Or The vntrussing of the Humorous Poet [London: E. White, 1602], "To the World," sig. A 3^v.) Because we must forever remain in complete ignorance of Captain Hannam, Dekker's allegation, if true, can have no significance for us.

recognized Ovid's effectiveness for the related purpose of his satiric

comedv.

The dangerous eroticism rampant in Ovid's group of socially elect is shown to contaminate the class directly beneath it. Chloe, the citizen's wife, and, to a lesser degree, her husband Albius, ineptly seek to attain the graces and vices of their dissolute social superiors. These pretenders are so skilfully manipulated by the dramatist that they not only appear ridiculous in themselves, but also cast oblique light upon the perversive attitudes of the social exquisites. Even Tucca plays a part in reinforcing this atmosphere. Though by dramatic type he is a braggart captain, his factitious and vulgar heartiness, expressed in a vocabulary learned in stews, makes him one of the most virile and independent of Jonson's creations. His name is derived from a character in Guilpin's Skialetheia and, as in the case of his prototype, the key to his nature is furtive lasciviousness, but his underived vitality is expended in advancing the dramatic business of Poetaster.

The scene in which Ovid and his friends, associated with all the pretenders, sacrilegiously imitate a council of the gods, particularly their scandalous freedom to pursue amorous adventure, serves as an effective revelation of the dangerously immoral foundation upon which the seductive graces of their society are based. It is effective dramatic construction to have the catastrophe terminate this aphrodisiac masquerade. The Emperor's scandalized irruption upon them and his irate banishment of Ovid form appropriate dramatic consequences for the sins of this mode of living and put into language of the theater

Jonson's moral indignation.

¹ The following passage was first brought into connection with Jonson's character by Small (op. cit., p. 26 n.):

"A third that falls more roundly to his worke, Meaning to moue her were she Iew or Turke: Writes perfect Cat and fidle, wantonly, Tickling her thoughts with masking bawdry: Which read to Captaine Tucca, he doth sweare, And scratch, and sweare, and scratch to heare His owne discourse discours'd: and by the Lord It's passing good: oh good! at euery word: When his Cock-sparrow thoughts to itch begin, He with a shrug sweares't a most sweet sinne."

(Skialetheia [London, 1598], Satyre Preludium, sig. B 8v.)

The two pretenders to poetry, Crispinus and Demetrius, are presented as complaisant to the ideals of this degenerate group. Such servility has prostituted their art and perverted the poet's sacred social function. This, in their hearts, they know. Their hatred of Horace is due to their secret envy of one who holds his art high above

contamination from social folly and sensuality.

Even the actors have capitulated to the spell of these libertine ideals. Histrio eagerly insists that his company presents plenty of bawdry at its theater across the river. For players thus happy to tickle itching ears, Crispinus is the appropriate poet and playwright. Hence the purge administered to him and the correction offered his fellow, Demetrius, are not merely effective blows which Jonson rains upon two of his enemies, completely stripped, for the moment, of their Roman disguises: they also represent the sorely needed purification of all writers who allow their art to subserve the purposes of a trivial and sensual society. Once cleansed, these playwrights no longer envy Horace but repent their failure to recognize him as he really is, a type of independence and moral sanity suited to be the poet of a great monarch and his court.

Such is the framework of the play. A closer examination should confirm the truth of this conception of its dramatic structure. Jonson chose Ovid to serve as the principal figure in his picture of the life and times of Augustus Caesar. This poet is neither one of Horace's detractors nor is he, in the playwright's opinion, one of the great master spirits who made the age golden. If Jonson's object had been to employ the Roman world of Augustus solely, or even primarily, as a means of discomfiting his traducers, his early introduction of Ovid would have been dramatically inept. But, granted that his aim is to establish in the first scene of his play the tone of an entire society at once cultivated and libertine, his immediate presentation of the poet who was universally regarded as the patron of all such social groups in the Renaissance was dramatically both sound and effective. With "the amorous schoolmaster," "the grand master of wantonness," 2

Herford and Simpson take this view. They regard "Jonson's Ovid-romance" as "uninteresting and even grotesque in itself," "a mere disturbing incongruity." (Jonson, I, 431.)

² These two descriptive phrases are typical of those universally applied to Ovid in the age of Elizabeth. Cf. C. B. Cooper, Some Elizabethan Opinions of the Poetry and Character of Ovid (University of Chicago dissertation; Menasha, Wis., 1914), passim.

thus firmly established in the play, the audience would be in little

danger of mistaking its tendency.

Ovid's encounter with his father, as Baskervill indicates, though constructed partly of details derived from the classics, reflects effectively familiar aspects of English life. The son who goes to a city university and there, by studying, instead of law, the art of love, arouses the ire of his father, was also a commonplace of comedia erudota from the time of Ariosto's I Suppositi (1509). Jonson had already adumbrated the situation in the relation of Lorenzo, junior, to his father. In Ovid's conflict with his parent, Sir Marcus Ovid, and in his presumptuous love for the Emperor's daughter Julia, he suggests clearly the part he is to play in the plot. The complete surrender of his intellect and his emotions to love, and to the art which it dictates, reveals him at once as one of passion's slaves. His defense of poetry, expressed in a translation of one of the elegies of the Amores, is put into the conventional terms of Art's triumph over Time. But it is to be noted that Ovid commits the immortality of his work solely to the keeping of unhappy lovers.² Compared to the vehement philistinism of his conventionally domineering father and its rotund echo in the mouth of the toadying Captain Tucca, his opinions are sympathetic. Ovid is set at the opposite pole from the pretenders in the social world the tone of which he establishes. As artistic or social virtuoso he is without blemish. His obtuseness appears only in his relation to ethical law. His apostrophe to poetry, beginning

> O sacred *Poësy*, thou spirit of *Arts*, The soule of *Science*, and the Queene of Soules,³

is a noble and genuine tribute eloquently phrased. But in the very next scene he betrays himself as eager to dedicate these "high Raptures of a happy soule" entirely to the service of profane and presumptuous love:

The Law, and Arte of sacred *Iulias* Loue:
All other objects will but Abjects proue.

Book I, Elegy xv.

² "atque ita sollicito multus amante legar!" (ibid., l. 38).

³ I, ii, sig. B 3.

In such a speech as this, Ovid the romantic figure becomes Ovid the libertine and so a vehicle of ethical warning. The contamination of one of these aspects of this poet by the other would have seemed natural to the audiences who saw the play. The two lay side by side in the culture of the period. Jonson, up to this time, had written nothing related to the popular romantic comedy of the last decade of the sixteenth century. In this play he tentatively presents a picture of a poet whose literary achievement and whose career made him, in many respects, an ideal romantic figure. But as, in fact and in tradition, his love grew to licentiousness, so at this point in the play Ovid the noble lover is transformed into a slave of passion. He is thus afflicted with both an artistic and ethical form of hybris for which he must clearly suffer retribution. Thus, satire emerges half-unwillingly from romance. This interesting metamorphosis of Ovid is a clear indication that the unity established for the play lies less in a closelyknit, simply-moving action than in a succession of intellectual attitudes that lay adjacent in those minds which determined the nature of Renaissance culture.

Ovid and his sophisticated friends are able to express this dissolute philosophy of the *Amores*, in a mode of social amenity and individual grace. Love thus rendered beautiful by sophisticated art, is regarded as palliating every sin committed in his name. Only those who have discovered this liberating truth have been emancipated from "rusticitas," to use Ovid's own term. The social adepts accept this philosophy nonchalantly. Not so the citizens, and their wives, who strive to intrude into this charmed society. They form a group of pretenders like those which appeared in Jonson's earlier comedies, yet domiciled within the structure of *Poetaster*. To these "would be's" we are next introduced.

Chloe, the wife of the citizen Albius, is the self-anointed queen of this bourgeois coterie. She is thoroughly acquainted with the precepts of the dissolute courtiers; but, instead of putting these laws of love into practice with Ovid's imagination and grace, she follows them with crude eagerness. One would suppose that she had been taught by the most repulsive creature in all the *Amores*, the bawd Dipsas. In urging Corinna to grant the last favor to a rich young seducer, the old woman reduces the art of love to the basest vulgarity. She tells her

mistress that, far back in the reign of Tatius, the coarse Sabine woman may have been satisfied with one man, but such erotic parsimony is no longer feasible in Aeneas' city, where his Venus now rules a society organized so that beautiful women may enjoy themselves. Nowadays everyone realizes that the only chaste woman is she who has never been asked or — if a woman is not completely countrified, she will do the asking herself. Later in Jonson's comedy, Chloe is given her chance to show how well she has learned Dipsas' lesson.

Her milieu must first be presented and her character revealed through her connections. The relation between her husband Albius and herself is, in some respects, like that which existed between Deliro and Fallace in *Every Man Out.*² Albius is an uxorious old man, yet he cannot resist giving his second wife instructions about the proper way of entertaining ladies and gentlemen. Chloe is shrilly contemptuous of his presumption in attempting to teach her in such matters. Has she not married him, mean though his social position is, so that she might acquire wealth and sovereignty?

I take it highly in snuffe, to learne how to Entertaine Gentlefolkes, of you, at these yeeres, I faith: Alas man; there was not a Gentleman came to your house i' your tother Wiues time, I hope? nor a Lady? nor Musique? nor Masques.³

She pretends to resent even his presence, for she has learned that this is the attitude which the fashions of worshipful society dictate.

For *Vulcanes* sake, breath some where else; in troth you ouercome our Perfumes exceedingly, you are to predominant.⁴

Albius, thinking such vulgarity proof that Chloe is "the most best, true, faeminine wit in *Rome*," is stimulated by it to fulsome terms of bourgeois endearment.

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This is a paraphrase of Amores, I, viii, ll. 39-44:

"forsitan inmundae Tatio regnante Sabinae
noluerint habiles pluribus esse viris;
nunc Mars externis animos exercet in armis,
at Venus Aeneae regnat in urbe sui.
ludunt formosae; casta est, quam nemo rogavit—
aut, si rusticitas non vetat, ipsa rogat."

Cf. Baskervill, op. cit., p. 291.
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³ III, i, sig. C 1^v.

4 II, i, sig. C 1.

Crispinus is next introduced as a follower in Chloe's train. Appealing to her as one fatuous pretender to another, he proves to her satisfaction that he is a gentleman born, by describing his coat of arms. It constitutes a poor pun on his name, "Cri-spinas," for it is "a Face crying in chiefe; and beneath it a bloody Toe, betweene three Thornes [i.e., spinas] Pungent." This coat of arms, indisputably his own, combined with the fact that he is "borne vpon little legges," convinces Chloe of his gentility, and she accepts as gospel the instructions which he gives her about the proper way to behave in the company of Ovid, Julia, and the other gallants who troop in.

Crispinus, as he appears in this his first scene, is simply one of the group of pseudo-exquisites. He reveals nothing that would lead an audience to identify him with Marston, unless it be his thin legs and the red wig and red beard which the actor playing the role apparently wore.² Since we know nothing about Marston's personal appearance, however, such details of make-up must remain merely accessories designed to endow the character with a farcically comic appearance.

The next scene presents Chloe's supper party. Its object is to contrast the pretenders, both social and literary, with the authentic exquisites and men of letters. The conversation which the real poets carry on about love, and their glorification of the love melancholy of Propertius as "the perfect'st loue, liues after death," arouses the admiring wonder of Chloe. She will incontinently have a poet of her own exactly like these laureates of love. She asks Crispinus whether the Emperor cannot make a poet out of her husband. "No Ladie," the poetaster answers, "tis Loue, and Beauty make Poets: & since you like Poets so well, your Loue, and Beauties shall make me a Poet. . . . I, and a better than these: I would be sory else." 3 In order to display his talents to the entire party, he induces Chloe to "intreat the Ladies, to intreat me to sing," and then warbles one staff of a ditty of his own composition. A second staff is finally sung by "Hermogenes; as humorous as a *Poet* though he is a *Musitian*." In introducing him Jonson, the scholar, furnished Jonson, the satirist, with a figure who could

¹ Ibid., sig. C 2.

² Small (op. cit., p. 41) marshals the evidence which makes the red wig and beard probable.

³ II, ii, sig. C 4.

serve as an effective vehicle for incidental social satire. Hermogenes, in one of Horace's satires, displays the musician's characteristic disinclination to perform when invited and his eagerness, once he has begun, to continue longer than his audience desires. In the play, his determination to outshine Crispinus makes him belie his repeated "cannot sing," "will not sing." After he has recited his verse, which is a wretched travesty of the love poetry of the gallants, he is with difficulty restrained from performing indefinitely. In the meantime, the spirit of imitation so possesses Crispinus to embark upon his poetical career, that he does not stay for Albius' banquet. Instead, he rushes off with the intention of wheedling a poet's gown out of some pawnbroker and of bespeaking a garland for his crown.

This scene is an important one for the play and for the development of Jonson's technique. Here he sets the pseudo-poet in juxtaposition to the true one. Here he shows Crispinus spying upon the intellectual manners of the poets so that he can ape them,² just as his gulls habitually spy upon the fashions of the gallants. Crispinus, to be sure, in this scene approximates the type of the impecunious pretender who affects poetry because he regards it as triumphant evidence of social competence. Baskervill pointed out ³ that the name Crispinus would suggest to a good Latinist like Jonson both an affected gallant and a verbose poet. A character of the first sort is so named in Juvenal's first satire,⁴ and one of the second sort in a satire of Horace;⁵

* Satires, I, iii, ll. 1-3: "Omnibus hoc vitium est cantoribus, inter amicos ut numquam inducant animum cantare rogati, iniussi numquam desistant." "Chl. Haue you markt euery thinge, Crispinus? Cri. Euery thing, I, warrant you." (II, ii, sig. C 4.) 3 Op. cit., p. 306, n. 2. "Cum pars Niliacae plebis, cum verna Canopi Crispinus Tyrias umero revocante lacernas ventilet aestivum digitis sudantibus aurum, nec sufferre queat maioris pondera gemmae, difficile est saturam non scribere." (Satires, I, II. 26-30.) Crispinus minimo me provocat: 'accipe, si vis, accipiam tabulas: detur nobis locus, hora, custodes; videamus uter plus scribere possit."" (Satires, I, iv, ll. 13-16.) and a babbler of virtue and a man who is *ineptus* and *stultus* is also called Crispinus.¹ Jonson's character has thus a kind of hereditary right to arrive at pseudo-poetry by way of pseudo-gallantry. In effecting this relationship, Jonson fuses social and literary satire better than he had in earlier comedies, and also sustains the ridicule more successfully. This fusion is of real importance for the development of satiric comedy. It enabled the literary satire to seem less a mere incrustation of erudition and pedantry upon the alien surface of the drama.

In the first part of the third act, Crispinus appears again — this time in the likeness of a bore. The scene is a greatly extended version of Horace's famous encounter with a similar creature.² Its purpose does not seem to be the introduction of Jonson in person through this first entry of his Horace. The poet's nervous, embarrassed efforts to escape the bore are practically identical with those used by Horace in his little mime. His actions form no true picture of what Jonson's own bluff, downright methods of extricating himself from a similar situation would have been. The purpose of the scene is rather to present a piece of Roman intellectual life that his audience would immediately recognize and thus be convinced that this Horace belonged definitely in that historical milieu.

The Roman Horace's tiresome acquaintance, it will be remembered, catalogued his poetical powers, along with his skill in dancing and singing, as a social accomplishment.³ Crispinus similarly regards his literary fecundity as a social asset of the same sort as any exhibition of trivial mannerisms. He says:

I would faine see which of these [i.e., Varius, Virgil, or Tibullus] could pen more Verses in a day, or with more facility then I; or that could court his Mistres, kisse her hand, make better sport with her Fanne, or her Dogge.⁴

¹ Cf. i, ll. 120-21; iii, ll. 139-40.

² Ibid., ix.

[&]quot;Incipit ille:

'si bene me novi, non Viscum pluris amicum,
non Varium facies: nam quis me scribere pluris
aut citius possit versus? quis membra movere
mollius? invideat quod et Hermogenes, ego canto.'"

(Ibid., ll. 21-25.)

⁴ III, i, sig. D 4v.

Cruelest insult to Horace is Crispinus' belief that his verse is just the sort which Horace composes:

Nay, we are newe turn'd *Poet* too, which is more; and a *Satyrist* too, which is more then that: I write iust in thy vaine, I. I am for your *Odes* or your *Sermons*, or any thing indeede; . . . we are a pretty *Stoicke*, too.¹

To prove the similarity he recites a poem of his own that had been inspired by the sight of a fine, sweet, little velvet cap poised on the head of a jeweler's wife. He explains the rhetorical virtues of this effusion by employing in his exegesis such jaw-breaking words as "Paranomasy" and "Agnomination." Finally, he begs Horace to introduce him to Mecaenas. This impudence stings the poet out of his patience into making a harsh reply:

Clearely mistakes Mecaenas, and his house; To thinke, there breaths a Spirit beneath his Roofe, Subject vnto those poore affections Of vnder-mining *Enuy*, and *Detraction*, Moodes, onely proper to base groueling minds.²

At this sudden stroke, the silken gull and ignorant social pretender becomes a representative of much more sinister forces, and the emotional ground is laid for Jonson's personal attack, which he clearly persuades himself is a form of ethical satire. But a moment later Crispinus reappears in the role of gull when arrested at the suit of Minos, the apothecary, for nonpayment of a bill for sweetmeats.

From this seizure Crispinus is freed by Tucca, the swaggerer, who alternately bribes the lictor and threatens him with his sword. But when the officer shows a touch of anger, Tucca changes his attitude to boisterous friendliness, and offers to be surety for the debt. What is more, in the future he will take his trade to Minos' shop and buy eringoes, his favorite aphrodisiac, there. Thus he seeks to end the incident in an atmosphere of clamorous good will, and enables Jonson to

² III, i, sigs. E 1v-E 2r.

¹ Ibid., sig. D 2°. This last characteristic is commonly thought to be a flourish of the poet's powers of invention. However, it is worth remembering that Marston, particularly in his character of Feliche, as presented in the Induction to The First Part of Antonio and Mellida, had suggested that the true stoic content was the emotional state to stimulate the most just and effective satiric attitude.

bring back even this situation, which smells a little of the antiquari-

an's lamp, into the atmosphere of comedy.

Satire of the actors and their plays is cleverly introduced into this scene, dominated by Tucca. He noisily berates a "histrio" who tries at this moment to slink by unnoticed, for not showing him proper deference. Having gained the player's frightened attention, he attempts to sweep Crispinus into a position of author for the fellow's company and to secure for him a retaining fee of forty shillings on the spot. The actors, too, can be certain of Tucca's patronage, if they will promise to present good bawdy plays. "But they say, you ha' nothing but Humours, Reuels, and Satyres, that girde, and fart at the time, you slaue." In other words, they present only such work as Ben Jonson was then writing. But Histrio assures Tucca that he is thinking of the playhouse on the wrong side of the river, because in his theater "Wee haue as much Ribaldry in our Plaies, as can bee, as you would wish, Captaine." This convinces Tucca that the company's dramas will be to his taste and he has the boy actors in the player's train recite lines written in the various bombastic styles which he admires. The passages spouted are from The Spanish Tragedy, The Second Part of the History of Antonio and Mellida, and other works of fustian, the lines of which Jonson has deliberately rearranged to heighten their absurdity. Finally, he induces the boy to present with appropriate impersonation his particular favorite, the Moor's speech from The Battle of Alcazar."

His thirst for beauty thus quenched, Tucca spies a miserable figure in a decayed doublet. He, it seems, is "one Demetrius, a dresser of Playes about the towne, ... we have hir'd him to abuse Horace, and bring him in, in a Play, with all his Gallants." This project they believe will earn them "a huge deale of money," of which they have desperate need. Tucca offers them Crispinus, his Parnassus (as he persists in naming him), to help execute the plan, provided Demetrius can do the job impudently enough. Histrio is certain on this point:

O, I warrant you, Captaine: and spitefully inough too; he ha's one of the most ouerflowing villanous wits, in *Rome*. He will slander any man that breathes; If he disgust him.²

II, 3, ll. 1-11 (quoted Mallory, op. cit., p. 201).

² III, iv, sig. F 4.

Thereby satisfied, Tucca, after flinging a filthy insult at Horace, suggested by the popular connection of Satire with the Satyr play—"Hang him fusty Satyre; he smells all Goate"—exits, arm in arm with Crispinus, each eager to give the other a kind of preview of his mistress.

This Histrio is obviously meant to suggest a member of the rival Chamberlain's Company (but clearly no particular person, certainly neither Henslowe nor Shakespeare) and their repertory at the Globe Theatre. It was this company that had retained Dekker to compose the play which, as Satiro-mastix, they presented at their theater in the autumn of 1601. However, the references to the particular situation are not obvious and heavy-footed enough to divorce Histrio from his role as representative of actors and producers willing to stoop to

obscenity and personal vilification for financial rewards.2

The third act, it must be admitted, has carried the audience far from Ovid's world of amorous gallantry and from the pretenders seeking entrance to it - from the simpletons to whom Crispinus has attached himself. But Jonson wished to present a field in which the poetaster's pretensions were no less inept and ridiculous, that of poetry and the drama. Failing to ingratiate himself with the true poet, Horace, and so to obtain an introduction to his noble patron, Crispinus finds a substitute that for him is perfectly satisfactory — the blustering ignoramus, Captain Tucca. The latter secures Crispinus a post with a company embarked upon an infamous career of bawdry and abuse, two dramatic motives that Tucca can appreciate. Though the personal qualities of Marston and Dekker begin to emerge clearly in this act, neither Demetrius nor Crispinus loses his more general and representative absurdities. Crispinus, who is depicted much the more fully, continues to suggest the typical denizen of the mere suburbs of decent social and literary life. As such a parasite he is characterized

This view is well presented by Small, op. cit., pp. 57-58, and accepted, with minor cor-

rections, by Mallory, op. cit., pp. lvi-lxi.

² The relationship of this satire of a company of actors to a similar attack in *Histrio-Mastix*, a version of which, revised by Marston, was produced by Paul's Boys in August, 1599 (see E. K. Chambers, *The Elizabethan Stage* [Oxford, 1923], IV, 17–19), has been admirably appraised by Baskervill (op. cit., pp. 298–99). The most interesting point that emerges from his discussion is that the authors probably intended the character of Chrisoganus to be a friendly portrait of Jonson. The latter's Horace, then, is in some particulars Jonson's own redrawing of those lineaments in that portrait which he did not consider flattering.

no less through his association with Tucca and the venal players than through his courtship of Chloe. He is thus still the pretender to the nicely balanced literary and social values of Ovid's world, which he

clumsily imitates but completely misunderstands.

During the third act Jonson has partially lost himself in a world of minor figures. In the fourth act we are again on the high road of the plot, again on the threshold of Ovid's world. We enter it this time by way of its purlieus, where Chloe is enacting her amorous history. Crispinus presents her to Tucca as the mistress whom the two at their last appearance had gone to seek. The swagger of the stews, which the Captain displays in her presence, she accepts as a sign of an authentic "Gentleman, and a Commaunder," "that's as good as a Poet." Crispinus sings his lady a ditty which he admits is an attempt to imitate the manner of Ovid, Propertius, and Tibullus. The verse entrances Albius, but is so halting that Tibullus' accusation of a plagiarism of Horace can only have been intentional irony. Mention of his hated name looses the abusive vocabulary of Demetrius and Tucca, which begins to pour down upon him. Tucca takes the lead in organizing a campaign to tickle Horace "i' faith, for his Arrogancie." But Chloe has little interest in the conspiracy; she prefers to hurry her Tucca to the banquet of the gods, hoping to find there a spare deity for him to impersonate. She naturally wishes him as well as Crispinus — her servants both — to assume roles in which they will have something "to doe" with her while she plays Venus.

The banquet of the gods is a masque-like phantasy, but much more than a decorative episode. It is modeled, even to many of its details, upon the Council on Olympus described in the first book of the *Iliad*. Suetonius, also, reports a dinner given by Augustus the Emperor, in which the guests appeared as gods and goddesses, an act of impiety causing great scandal. The frankly wanton tone of the assembly in *Poetaster* is established by the proclamation of Jupiter, who decrees that everyone present is to love as freely and as recklessly as passion

dictates:

I Suetonius, The Lives of the Caesars [Vitae XII Caesarum], Augustus, LXX. "Cena quoque eius secretior in fabulis fuit, quae vulgo $\delta\omega\sigma\epsilon\kappa\dot{\alpha}\theta\epsilon\sigma$ s vocabatur; in qua deorum dearumque habitu discubuisse convivas, etc." This passage was first brought into this connection by Peter Whalley, The Works of Ben. Jonson (London, 1756), II, 79 n.

It shall be lawfull for every Louer, To breake louing oathes, To change their Louers, & make loue to others, As the heate of every ones Bloode, And the spirit of our *Nectar* shall inspire.¹

The difference between the adepts and the pretenders, in their efforts to express this spirit, consists only in the difference in the taste with which they apply the erotic philosophy. The initiated season their amorous talk with banter; while Tucca, Chloe, and the rest are crudely direct. The climax of the celebration comes in the antiphonal singing of Crispinus and Hermogenes, in which they celebrate this occasion as a feast of sense. At this moment Ovid's ardor carries him to the peak of presumption. He sends to demand of the Emperor that "he presently Sacrifice as a Dish to this Banquet, his beautifull and wanton Daughter *Iulia*."

The song, with Ovid's reaction to it, is almost certainly a reference to Chapman's "Ouids Banquet of Sence," published first in 1595. The poem describes how all of Ovid's senses are fed as he first beholds Julia at her bath and then rushes with uncontrollable passion into her presence. It is one of the most frank of the erotic poems written, in the last two decades of the sixteenth century, to pander to the taste of the Earl of Southampton and other aesthetic libertines among his contemporaries. This oblique reference to Chapman's poem subtly connects the wanton pastimes of Ovid and his associates, as well as those of their inept imitators, with a phase of contemporary society at

which much of Jonson's satire came to be directed.

Jonson chose this moment of Ovid's supreme presumption for delivering his blow of stern chastisement. At no other point in the action could it have had a more salutary effect upon both the dramatis personae and the audience. This is proof that, though the social pretenders may be ridiculed in a spirit suffused with laughter, the socially competent profligates are regarded as essentially unmoral and therefore satirized with appropriate severity. Their impersonation of the gods is subversive to virtue, because, in assuming that the gods are but feigned, they logically infer that virtue is but "painted." Singled out for particular attack is Crispinus, the "parcell-Poet" (i.e., half-

¹ IV, iii, sig. H 1*.

poet or poetaster). The true poet is one who above all others should cherish and eternize virtue. Yet Crispinus acts as though this goddess furnished no law at all for his life. Caesar's final rejection of all pleas of mercy for the culprits expresses what he considers to be the essential viciousness of the entire group that surrounds Ovid. Vainglory has seduced them all into the most dangerous form of affectation. In airily pretending that the gods are fictions and that virtue is a superstition, they make a hollow show of all the essentials of humanity:

This shewes, their Knowledge is meere Ignorance; Their farre fetcht Dignity of soule, a Fancy; And all their square pretext of Grauity A meere vaine Glory: hence: away with 'hem."

The nature of this catastrophe, and its explanation put into the emperor's mouth, make it clear that Jonson drew no sharp distinction in his mind between social and ethical satire. His theories in regard to the form were harmonious with those which were widely current in the Renaissance literary criticism. Satire was a particularly vigorous and direct form of moral corrective. Actual satire of social folly was justified only if it were presented as an indirect result of unethical

impulses.

In the scenes which immediately follow this punishment, Jonson shows apparent sympathy with Ovid and Julia. However, his attitude in this part of the play has been misconceived. It is surely a mistake to believe that here Jonson forgets the structure of his drama in order to allow his genius to wander irresponsibly into a romantic situation in which it moved awkwardly. The farewell between Ovid and Julia inevitably invites unfavorable comparison with corresponding scenes between Romeo and Juliet. This juxtaposition has obscured the fact that Jonson designed the final encounter of the lovers to serve an entirely different purpose from that of Shakespeare. With Romeo and Juliet, at least in the scenes of parting, we are supposed to have complete sympathy. Their imaginatively expressed concord of amorous wills displays them as two of Cupid's saints. Ovid and to a lesser degree Julia, on the other hand, must be presented as victims of a destructive passion. They are overwhelmed by no mere tragic flaw in

¹ IV, vi, sig. I 17.

natures essentially noble, but by a moral weakness which poisons their entire natures. Neither has been purged of his fault by the Emperor's punishment; neither shows in these scenes any diminution of amorous *hybris*. Julia resents the deserved correction, persistently regarding her passions and not her reason as the proper ruler of her life. She cries:

O, Father; since thou gau'st me not my Minde, Striue not to rule it: Take, but what thou gau'st To thy disposure, thy Affections Rule not in me; I must beare all my griefes, Let me vse all my pleasures.¹

Ovid is similarly the willing slave of his passion. In his parting speech he cries, "There is no stay In Amorous pleasures." After Julia disappears for the last time, he falls upon his knees to utter these words of complete surrender to Love:

. I am mad with Loue. There is no Spirit, vnder heauen, that workes With such illusion; yet such witchcraft kill mee, Ere a sound minde, without it, saue my life.

"The truest wisdome sillie men can haue, "Is dotage, on the follies of their flesh.2"

Such a speech relates him to the aesthetic sensualist Troilus, in Shake-speare's *Troilus and Cressida*, rather than to the idealistically ardent Romeo. It is the lascivious not the romantic Ovid who appears here. He is thus but another of those figures, perverted by amorous passion, against whom the moralists of all sorts inveighed during the last decade of Queen Elizabeth's reign.

The appearance of Ovid in these last two scenes should, therefore, be regarded as making a positive contribution to Jonson's experiments with the possibilities of dramatic satire. The proper and logical climax to Ovid's story, in a piece of fiction essentially satiric, would have been the scene of castigation, with or without the reform of the errant individual. By indicating the effect of the punishment not upon

¹ IV, ix, sig. I 4. ² *Ibid.*, sig. I 4^v.

Ovid's morals but upon his emotions, Jonson transposed his satire into a key not unlike that of later tragicomedy. The poet, even at the moment of his deserved punishment, is almost pathetic. Ovid and his erotic philosophy were to exert a formative influence upon the comedy of social satire throughout the seventeenth century. Therefore, this introduction of him, not as the classical poet whom the cultivated libertines of the English Renaissance regarded as the fountainhead for the essential, gorgeous, and sensuous elements of poetry, but as a doomed sensualist, forms a landmark in the literary history of the

century.

If this interpretation of Ovid's story is sound, it must be regarded as the essential plot of Poetaster, which continues and extends the methods used in Jonson's earlier plays of this type. The drama is fundamentally a social satire. The climbers are displayed with all their now familiar pretentious ineptitude. To be sure, not so much time as formerly is devoted to their exhibition. It is to the society formed by the adepts that more critical attention is given. They are shown to have created an organization the grace of which is not only hollow but also an expression of moral nihilism. The new element added to the picture is the deleterious influence exerted by the ideals of the coterie upon the poets and dramatists associated with it. The poetasters are depicted as parasites upon the creatures at the lower levels of this social structure. Their characters have been distorted by their eager servility to the ideals of the profligate world. It is the crash of this rotten edifice that the play represents. Ovid as the leader of this fin de siècle society, and Julia as his half-willing, half-reluctant victim, are properly given the most condign and spectacular punishment. Their fall and their suffering provide Jonson's ethical spirit with its clearest utterance in this play. Thus conceived, the Ovid plot, far from being "a mere disturbing incongruity," becomes the structural center of the play.

The last act of *Poetaster* serves as a kind of epilogue to the main action. By completing the business of the central plot in the fourth act, Jonson strengthened the interest in this part of his comedy—the very portion of a play that, in Elizabethan times, was apt to bring languor to the spectators through their effort to follow the fortunes of the subplot. But in so doing he found that the material from which

last acts had customarily been formed had been exhausted. If his drama had been in essence a narrative, his last act would inevitably have been thin and devoid of interest. But Jonson, having designed *Poetaster* not primarily to tell a story but to enfranchise satire, realized that two matters important for his purpose remained to be settled in his fifth act.

In the first place, the two pseudo-poets, being the most ridiculous and despicable of the parasites upon the libertine society headed by Ovid and Julia, had to be given appropriate castigation. In the second place, the audience had to be left with a sympathetic comprehension of the standards by which the poetasters, and indeed all of those in the play who had deviated from social and moral sanity, had been judged.

The first of these purposes was accomplished by isolating the pseudo-poets from their Roman milieu and giving them satiric correction in terms that emphasized their points of resemblance to Marston and Dekker. Each is made to read one of his typical effusions. That of Demetrius is weak in content and feeble in execution. His harmless incompetence is viewed as incorrigible. He is condemned to don the livery of a court fool and given the following sentence: "Hencefoorth, thinke thy selfe no other, then they make thee."

Crispinus' poem, which is introduced as a document in evidence, is a mass of pretentious and affected verbiage. The device of administering an emetic, which causes him to vomit up a vocabulary which would be recognized as Marston's own, is modeled on an incident in Lucian's *Lexiphanes*.¹ In the Greek satire, Sopolis, a physician, gives the bad poet a draught which causes him to disgorge much of his most offensive vocabulary. After he is clean of the rumbling words, Lycius prescribes the authors whom he should read in the future and the words which he should henceforth employ. Virgil gives Crispinus similar instruction after he has been purged, warning him, in par-

Dekker may have been the first to recognize this specific likeness. At any rate, he has Tucca in Satiro-mastix say to Horace, "Thou'lt shoote thy quilles at mee, when my terrible backe's turn'd for all this, wilt not Porcupine? and bring me & my Heliconistes into thy Dialogues to make vs talke madlie, wut not Lucian?" (Satiro-mastix, sig. H 3.) The chances are, however, that Lucian is here conceived not as an individual but as the archetype of all biting satirists. Baskervill points out (op. cit., pp. 44-45, 307) that the farcical device of an emetic had also been used by Nashe in reference to Harvey, as well as in some documents of the Marprelate controversy.

ticular, not to hunt for "wild, out-landish Termes" or rack his verses

to make them entertain some "Gallo-Belgick Phrase."

This scene of trial and punishment is Jonson's rough, but effective, way of ridiculing the stupidity and tasteless diction of his two adversaries in the stage quarrel. Though characteristic of Lucian's dissimilar spirit, the purging of Lexiphanes was nicely adapted to the immediate needs of *Poetaster*. The trial scene, taken as a whole, gave Jonson a chance to take another excursion into broad farce like that which closes *Every Man in his Humour*. In the Aristophanic gusto of this scene, the fusion which he had established earlier in the play between social and literary satire is momentarily broken. The farce seems to have entered the service of lampoon. But even at this point the personal satire is enlisted in the general cause of literary decency.

Moreover, the device of having judgment pronounced upon these purveyors of fustian enabled Jonson to render his audience the last service necessary for making his comedy satirically cogent. This phase of the concluding act begins with an authoritative defense of Horace and his particular sort of satire. Then logically comes Virgil's glorification of poetry and its function. Jonson musters all his skill as a dramatic technician to establish the great Roman, not only as the supreme poet of Augustus' court, but also as the natural representative of the highest sort of literary achievement. Before he appears on the stage, the other poets advance opinions of his work, which establish it as the expression of inspired wisdom. Jonson's own conception of the essential quality of great poetry is revealed in the emphasis he has Virgil's friends place upon the sheer power of his compositions. This quality it is that has freed them from the pedantry of learning and tradition and given them universality:

And for his *Poësie*, 'tis so ramm'd with Life, That it shall gather strength of Life, with being, And liue hereafter, more admir'd, then now.²

² V, i, sig. K 2v.

The various attempts of the critics to discover some contemporary of Jonson's — preferably Shakespeare or Chapman — at least adumbrated in the figure of Virgil, have all been judiciously considered and rejected by Herford and Simpson. (Jonson, I, 432–36.) The conclusion of their investigation is, "We are thrown back then on the view that Jonson's Virgil is simply Virgil; . . . he supports and gives verisimilitude to the partly symbolic Horace, Crispinus, and Demetrius, but is not a symbol himself." With this statement the present writer completely agrees.

These critical comments raise Virgil to an eminence from which his pronouncements upon poetry, and, in particular, upon the sort written by Horace, can be delivered with Olympian authority. Such is the effect of his defense of the purposes and methods of satire:

'Tis not the wholsome sharpe Morality,
Or modest anger of a Satyricke Spirit,
That hurts, or wounds the body of a State;
But the sinister Application
Of the malitious, ignorant, and base
Interpreter; who will distort, and straine
The generall Scope and purpose of an Author,
To his particular, and private spleene.

In a second speech Virgil defends Horace's temper as being the inevitable expression of outraged virtue:

His sharpnesse, that is most excusable;
As being forc't out of a suffering Vertue,
Oppressed with the Licence of the Time:
And howsoeuer Fooles, or Ierking Pedants,
Players, or such like Buffonary wits,
May with their beggerly, and barren trash,
Tickle base vulgar eares, in their despight;
This (like Ioues Thunder) shall their pride controule.
"The honest Satyre hath the happiest Soule.2"

Such speeches make clear that this last act is supplementary to the plot of the comedy. That business is over with the fourth act. So is the social satire which establishes the tone of the drama. However, the catastrophe of Ovid and his associates must be shared by all their hangers-on, including the poetasters. They are soiled by the guilt of the morally disruptive tendencies of the courtly group and must also be punished. The play's final act, by dedicating itself to that duty, on the one hand shifts the emphasis of Jonson's ridicule, and on the other builds up the literary standards by which the poetasters are tried and found wanting. This change of interest enables Jonson to introduce his audience into the symbolically represented world of the dramatist and his professional adversaries. Here, while justifying his own art,

¹ V, iii, sigs. L 2^r-L 2^v.
² *Ibid.*, sig. M 1^v.

he creates a region of ideal poetic striving, where his conceptions find their most eloquent expression. Except for the farcical purging of the poetasters, one must admit that the appeal of the last act is not dramatic. It depends largely on the strength of its poetry and the importance of the ideas expressed for illuminating the satiric purposes of the comedy. The raisonneur or representative of the author in formal satire, it must be granted, does his office less clearly and vigorously than the ubiquitous commentators in his earlier "Comicall Satyre[s]." This character was too prominent in both Every Man Out and Cynthia's Revels. In his attempt to subordinate the figure more deftly to the main action of the play, Jonson in Poetaster obscures his function.

The foregoing analysis of Poetaster should fix more securely the position of the drama, both in Jonson's career and in the development of satiric comedy during the first decade of the seventeenth century. The most brilliant characteristic of his ingenuity, as revealed in Poetaster, is his scholarly and imaginative revival of the literary life of Augustan Rome. This piece of invention may have been initiated by his desire to present, through that society, a symbolical picture of the relations of true poets and poetasters to frivolous and dissolute London society of the last years of Queen Elizabeth's reign. Once embarked upon his imaginative project, he inevitably used the devices that he had employed in his earlier satiric plays and adhered to the literary principles that had governed all writers of satire, at least from the time of Horace. Consequently, the mood of personal hostility which clearly appears at intervals in Poetaster is restrained and generalized according to the accepted rules of civilized literary behavior. Hence, even Crispinus and Demetrius represent, most of the time, types of intellectual incompetence and fraud, and only occasionally display the unmistakably individual characteristics of Marston and Dekker. Similarly in the case of Horace, type qualities of satiric decorum predominate over those intended to suggest the man Ben Jonson. Moreover, the orthodox satiric temper is carefully preserved throughout the comedy. The occasional outbursts of farce and hilarious ridicule do not diminish the stern ethical disapproval which is the emotional justification for all the various sorts of laughter aroused by the comic action.

The fable chosen was highly appropriate for the attainment of

these ends. To the intellectual man of the Renaissance, every historical situation was more than an entertaining part of a vanished world. Since history inevitably repeated itself, all such situations were previous occurrences of those in an immediate present. The fall of Ovid and the discomfiture of his profligate companions would happen again in all their details when the same forces reappeared in society. The effective presentation of this ancient disaster could serve as an impressive warning for any contemporaries of Jonson who found themselves slipping into a similar social and moral pattern. The plot is somewhat loose in structure, like that of all Jonson's comedies written up to this time. Though it succeeds in establishing some balance between the personal, ethical, and social satire of the play and clarifies the interdependence between these modes of correction, it does not effect an ideal unification of the three. Such skill in constructing a plot for a satiric play Jonson did not exhibit until he wrote Volpone.

The failure of Poetaster to entertain a modern audience is not due to a collapse of Jonson's expert knowledge of either the essence of satire or of dramatic structure. Nor is it proof of a disastrous capitulation to the ethical and critical elements in his mind. One is forced in candor to admit that it is due partly to the author's inability to provide his creatures with homely vivifying detail in either speech or action — an artistic blemish which causes his characters to suffer occasional eclipse and his action to drag. A much more important reason for the unfavorable attitude of recent critics toward Poetaster is that the modern world is unable to recapture any of the intense ethical interest of the serious man of Elizabethan England or the sympathetic ardor with which the best writers sought to satisfy that eagerness for moral security. It was this preoccupation with matters of conduct that carried intelligent men of the Renaissance happily over long passages which for us have become dull; and this it was that enabled them to accord a friendly hearing to a play, like Poetaster, which exploited their conception of Roman, and indeed of all, history as a repository of practical moral wisdom, in order to correct dangerous tendencies in their own society and in the literature written for it.

The Influence of Milton on Colonial American Poetry

By LEON HOWARD

Iterature to remark on the little notice given John Milton in the colonies and to explain this assumed lack of literary culture by references to the practical necessities of frontier life, which left small opportunity for wide reading. The failure of Moses C. Tyler, in his comprehensive histories of colonial literature, to mention other than eighteenth-century influences is responsible, to some extent, for the origin and continuation of this attitude; and, furthermore, a logical system of reasoning has probably hindered an investigation of the facts: Milton was a religious poet, Puritan in his affiliations; and the best-educated men in the colonies were the Puritan divines, who, with few exceptions, certainly ignored the author of *Paradise Lost*. Consequently, this logic insists, Milton was practically unknown in the colonies.

The error of such reasoning lies in the implications of the major premise, for in the colonies Milton was looked upon not at all as a great Puritan but altogether as a great poet — as the greatest poet, in fact, that England had ever produced. Although copies of his works were rarely to be found in ministerial libraries, they were generally available; and allusions to him were frequent in colonial literature. Therefore, the proper place to look for evidence of the part that Milton played in the development of American literary culture is in colonial

I have discussed the colonial knowledge of Milton in an essay on "Early American Copies of Milton" (Huntington Library Bulletin, No. 7, pp. 169–79), which lists periodicals that were consulted for both articles. Most of the material examined for the present study is in the Huntington Library, although some use has been made of the New York Public Library, the library of the Pennsylvania Historical Society, and the Library of Congress. Generalizations concerning Milton's relationship to English literary history are based on R. D. Havens, The Influence of Milton on English Poetry (Cambridge, Mass., 1922).

verse; and the study of his influence upon this early poetry will throw some light on the cultural state of America before the creation of an

independent nation.

In general, this article is less concerned with individual authors than with the extent to which colonial verse, as a whole, looked toward the tradition of English literature with a dependence more profound than can be seen in the acceptance of the new fashions of any given period. Accordingly, no attempt will be made to present an exhaustive account of the use made of Milton's work by particular writers. The significant thing is the number of poets, in a land which produced only a limited quantity of verse, who knew Milton and were to some degree influenced by him. This paper tries to make clear only the fact and the extent of that influence.

The date of the second Constitutional Convention (1787) has been chosen, somewhat arbitrarily, as that of the close of the "colonial" period. The year of the successful attempt to put the national government upon a permanent basis is a convenient political dividing line, and it is even more convenient from the standpoint of literary history. The unsettled conditions of the preceding fifteen years necessitated a long delay in the publication of a considerable amount of poetry written immediately before or during the Revolution, and 1787 is just late enough to include most of this without bringing in the earliest work of some of the younger writers who flourished around the close of the century. Also, for the sake of convenience, the results of this investigation have been arranged in three natural divisions: the influence of Milton before 1750, of his minor poems between 1750 and 1787, and of *Paradise Lost* during the same period.

A few examples of Milton's influence upon American poetry before 1750 have been pointed out by students of colonial literature. S. M. Tucker has suggested that the phrasing of Samuel Wigglesworth's Funeral Song seems to show that Milton had reached New England by 1709. Thomas G. Wright has noted the Miltonic influence upon Richard Steere's The Daniel Catcher (Boston, 1713), as shown in a nineteen-page poem in blank verse and in a Nativity poem which

¹ The Cambridge History of American Literature (New York), I (1917), 154.

echoes Milton's "Hymn" in somewhat similar verse. The work of the American emigrant, James Ralph, also definitely reflects *Paradise Lost*, as Raymond D. Havens has observed, although it is questionable whether this quality can be attributed to an interest which existed before he left the colonies with Benjamin Franklin. But these represent only a small portion of America's early debt to Milton.

One of the earliest of the other American writers who show extensive signs of this debt is the Rev. Dr. Mather Byles, whose blank "Verses Written in Milton's Paradise Lost" were printed in the New-England Weekly Journal for August 21, 1727. În these and other verses, Byles, despite his pretentious admiration for Pope, was held by his contemporaries to imitate Milton's "airy rapid flights, And mount with ardour to his godlike heights"; 3 indeed, Miltonic diction pervades a number of his most ambitious poems. "The Comet" 4 opens with the appeal, "Descend, Urania, and inspire my verse," which is closely associated with the exclamation, "See! heav'nly muse" and the expressed intention of proclaiming the "Almighty's pow'r," indicating that Byles has in mind Milton's Urania and not merely the conventional muse of astronomy. "The Conflagration" (Boston [1755]) shows a similar diffusion of Miltonic diction in such references as those to the "chrystal Battlements of Heav'n" and to sleep which "consecrates the deep Serene, And spreads her brooding Wings," etc. As a rule, Byles's verse is a stiff attempt to follow Pope, but occasional phrases, supported by his expressed admiration for Paradise Lost and the contemporary judgment to which he evidently subscribed, show that he frequently wrote under the secondary influence of Milton.

The verses of Byles's friend and critic, the Rev. Mr. John Adams,

56 (Feb., 1744).

Literary Culture in Early New England, 1620-1730 (New Haven, 1920), p. 211. The title poem of The Daniel Catcher appeared in the first edition of Steere's verses, in 1682, which shows no signs of Miltonic influence.

² Op. cit., pp. 239, 280.

³ John Adams, "To a Gentleman [Byles] on the Sight of Some of his Poems," A Collection

of Poems, By Several Hands (Boston, 1744), p. 6.

4 The Comet: A Poem (Boston, 1744); also printed in A Collection of Poems, By Several Hands, pp. 13-14, and in The American Magazine and Historical Chronicle (Boston), I, 255-

of Nova Scotia, somewhat more positively reflect Milton. This is particularly true of his aspiration:

Nor let me in the Poet lose the Priest, But know both what, and when to write is best:

The brightest Ancients let me read and know, And let their Spirit in my Numbers flow; And all the Moderns, who, by Thee inspir'd, Will be, as long as Nature lasts, admir'd: By noble Patterns so to form my Lays, As from the thinking Few to merit Praise. Be Thou the subject of my lofty Verse, And, thine unbounded Work, the Universe.

Elsewhere, in some lines addressed to Mather Byles, he implores his muse to "attempt one labour more":

Let Milton's fame resound from shore to shore: Milton who in his works immortal lives, And in the deathless praise your Poem gives.

And, in driving his muse to her final labor, he devotes twenty-six lines to a reference to one of Byles's poems, coupled with a partial summary of *Paradise Lost*.² Among his other poems, "Hallelujah Attempted" and "The Revelation of St. John the Divine, translated" contain suggestions of the diction of Milton's blank verse; and "Melancholy describ'd and dispell'd," "On Contentment," and "On Joy" show traces of the influence of the octosyllabics.³ Clearly, though usually keeping within the bounds of the heroic couplet, he accepted Milton's work as one of his "noble Patterns."

An occasional secular writer in New England caught the tone of Milton's verse more successfully than did the self-conscious Byles and Adams. Nathaniel Ames (who printed selections from Milton in

² "To a Gentleman on the Sight of Some of his Poems," A Collection of Poems, By Several Hands, pp. 6 ff. These lines were originally published in The New-England Weekly Journal, Oct. 9, 1727.

¹ "An Address to the Supreme Being for his assistance in my Poetical Compositions," in *Poems on Several Occasions, Original and Translated* (Boston, 1745), pp. 2-3. This was written earlier, for Adams died in 1740.

³ Poems on Several Occasions, pp. 3-6, 103-76, 17-20, 20-22, 22-24.

his almanacs 1) did so, even in heroic couplets, in a poem on the sun published in 1739:

Father of Light! From thy bright Essence flows Light uncreated, to the Souls of those Who in thy Works with awful Reverence pry, And truly seek thy Name to glorify; Illumine me, lest my unskilful Pen, With vulgar Strains, a lofty Theme prophane.

Further original poems in the Ames almanacs echo Milton's phrasing in blank verse. One of a devotional nature, in the 1744 issue, with its references to "Thou uncreated Self existent Being," "You glorious Sun whose Robes are fring'd with Gold," and the "Womb of Chaos," is reminiscent of *Paradise Lost* and especially of the devotions of Adam and Eve in the fifth book. "The Persecutors's Hell. By an Unknown Hand," in the publication for 1746, is similarly suggestive of Milton; and so is Ames's poem, "On the Reduction of QUEBEC" (1760), which uses the machinery of "winged Hosts" around the Almighty's throne and angelic messengers moving "thro' the trackless Path of Liquid Air." Such short poems as these by Ames and the "Unknown Hand" illustrate the impression that Milton made upon the colonial writers of incidental verse, whose work frequently reflects current influences more clearly than does the stilted, affected rhyming of more ambitious men of letters.

In the colonies south of New England, one of the most interesting early imitations of Milton is the "Hymn to the Morning," by an anonymous William and Mary professor, which opens with a quality characteristic of the entire poem:

AWAKE my Soul, and with the constant Morn, Carol th' ALMIGHTY's Praise; awake and tune The vocal Shell to sympathetic Sounds, And heav'nly Consort. See! the radiant Sun Stains with etherial Gold the varied *East*, And vast Expanse; . . .

¹ See "Early American Copies of Milton," op. cit., p. 177, n. 2.
² These verses are reprinted in Samuel Briggs (comp.), The Essays, Humor, and Poems of Nathaniel Ames, Father and Son, . . from their Almanacks, 1726-1775, . . . (Cleveland, 1891), pp. 126, 177-78, 192-93, 308-11.

Verse, diction, substance, and spirit of the "Hymn" are so obviously derived from Milton that it seems hardly necessary for the poet to confess:

With daring Song, and more advent'rous Foot, Attempt the steepy Heights, where Milton first, Great Chieftain, solitary trod; and taught The list'ning World, what Michael's potent Arm In Fight could do, and human Wit atchieve.

So closely, indeed, does this "Gentleman of Virginia" follow in Milton's footsteps that he appears genuinely imbued with the English poet's spirit and so one of the few early American poets to appreciate him, not merely as a "noble pattern" — a classic English poet — but as a real personality.

Another of these few who seem invested with something of Milton's spirit is William Livingston, of New Jersey. In his poem, *Philosophic Solitude*, he sketches his dream of retirement and surveys the books he

would take with him, placing

Great Milton first, for tow'ring thought renown'd Parent of song, and fam'd the world around!

And, although he does not imitate Milton's blank verse in his own poem, he shows that his expressed admiration is the result of a deep impress, when he writes:

LET THERE BE LIGHT, said God, — Light instant shone And from the orient burst the golden Sun; Heav'ns gazing hierarchies with glad surprize, Saw the first morn invest the recent skies, And strait th' exulting troops thy throne surround With thousand thousand harps of heav'nly sound; Thrones, Powers, Dominions, (ever-shining trains!) Shouted thy praises in triumphant strains.²

Livingston was more alert, perhaps, than were any of his contemporaries to the literary movements of the age in which he lived; but many

¹ Poems on Several Occasions. By a Gentleman of Virginia (Williamsburg, 1736), pp. 5, 8.
² William Livingston, Philosophic Solitude: or, The Choice of a Rural Life (New York, 1747), pp. 32, 26. Though in the tradition and manner of Pomfret's The Choice, Livingston's poem may also owe something to "Il Penseroso."

of the lines of *Philosophic Solitude* could never have been written had not the imagination of its author been stirred by the theme of *Paradise*

Lost and his attention held by its language.

More significant of the currency of Milton's influence than any of these serious poems, however, are the burlesque verses, "The Razor," published in 1743. Miltonic parody and burlesque had become a fairly common type of eighteenth-century verse, but "The Razor" is less a representative of a general, conventionally popular manner of writing than it is a particular imitation of the verse of *Paradise Lost*. It begins:

Of noisy rattling Drums and clattering Shields, Of roaring Cannon and the Din of War, In hoarse rough Cadence, pleas'd while others sing, My Muse in peaceful Solitude delights, And with Instruments of social Life Adorns her Song.

And it reaches the height of successful parody of diction, verse, and syntax when it hails the

Blest salutary Engine! Whose Approach Clears up the Mists and Errors of old Night. The Sciences profound and every Art For Ages in Obscurity lay hid And deep involv'd; 'till thy kind influence, And penetrative Edge dispell'd the Gloom, And all to full perfective Knowledge brought."

The incongruity of the homely subject matter and the sonorous dignity of the style in this poem would probably be amusing under any circumstances; but it is a fact that unfamiliar styles are rarely parodied, and the publication of this highly Miltonic burlesque indicates that the influence of *Paradise Lost* was sufficiently widespread for its comic treatment to have been entertaining to readers of colonial periodicals.

These ten writers who reflect Milton's influence during the first half of the eighteenth century in America are in number and importance negligible in comparison with the English poets who, during the same period, were affected by his work. Versification, however, was

¹ American Magazine and Historical Chronicle, I, 120, 121 (Nov., 1743).

not a flourishing art in the colonies at that time; and, when the amount of poetry written in America is compared with the amount written on the other side of the Atlantic, and when it is realized how few Americans there were who could be considered at all susceptible to Milton's influence, it seems only reasonable to say that *Paradise Lost* made, comparatively, as great an impression on American verse before 1750 as it did upon the poetry of England.

One of the striking things about the record of Milton's influence upon American poetry before the middle of the eighteenth century is the almost complete absence of any considerable reflection of the minor poems. Richard Steere may have been affected by the "Hymn" and John Adams by the octosyllabics, but with only meager results. The "deathless Milton" who lived fitfully in the pages of these early American poets was the author of Paradise Lost. The explanation for this is probably to be found in the self-conscious, defensive quality which characterizes most of the verse of the time. Some writers may have practiced numbers in order to polish their style (as Cotton Mather advised), some to elevate their readers, and others to give a certain formality to their pious griefs and hopes; and to none of these purposes did the most easily imitated of Milton's lesser poems, "L'Allegro" and "Il Penseroso," lend themselves as models. The informal charm of the octosyllabics was foreign to writers devoted to ideals of elegance and elevation; and, at this time, the only informal writers in America were the ballad makers and the occasional satirists. It was not until the writing of verse became more common and the means of publication more widespread that American verse found itself free to reflect these most popular of the minor poems.

Signs of this freedom are to be found by the beginning of the second half of the century. Joseph Green's Entertainment for a Winter's Eve-

ning uses in its opening section the appeal:

Come, Goddess, and our ears regale With a diverting christmas tale. O come, and in thy verse declare Who were the men, and what they were, . . . ¹

I Joseph Green, Entertainment for a Winter's Evening (Boston, 1750), p. 5, ll. 11-14.

—lines which certainly echo "L'Allegro," although the poem soon degenerates into Hudibrastic measures. Another example of the trend away from elegance and towards the informality of Milton's octosyllabics is to be found in the anonymous doublets, "To-morrow" and "Yesterday," printed in the Virginia Gazette for December 22, 1752. These poems are in poor blank verse, somewhat after Shakespeare, but their publication as a pair similar in form and contrasting in matter is suggestive of Milton; and the quoted reference to Shakespeare as "Fancy's sweetest Child," with a footnote alluding to "L'Allegro," reveals an acquaintance with the poems that might have served as models.

The Philadelphia American Magazine and Monthly Chronicle was particularly friendly to imitations of Milton's octosyllabics. In 1757 it printed Francis Hopkinson's "Ode on Music," which contains the appeal,

> Neatly trip o'er the merry dance, And lightly touch, and swiftly glance,

and other lines which echo "L'Allegro," although the meter has been unfortunately "corrected." More obviously imitative are the pair printed the following month and called, after their prototypes, "L'Allegro" and "Il Penseroso." The first begins,

> Hence Melancholy, Care and Sorrow! My heart defers you 'till tomorrow;

and the second,

Vanish mirth and vanish joy, Airy pleasures quickly cloy; Hence all ye bacchanalian rout, ...

But welcome, welcome Melancholy! Thou goddess sage, demure and holy!

Both follow Milton fairly closely in structure, although they differ to some extent in content. By temperament and training Hopkinson was unusually susceptible to the appeal of Milton's lighter verses, and their charm continued to influence him; for in 1775 he printed, in the

I, 44-45 (Oct., 1757). Written three years earlier. ² Ibid., pp. 84-86, 86-88 (Nov., 1757). Each was extensively revised for publication in Hopkinson's collected poems.

Pennsylvania Magazine, a poem in imitation of "L'Allegro," saying that while on an ocean voyage he sang some lines from Milton's poem and, when the audience complained of the shortness of the selection,

improvised two additional stanzas.1

Hopkinson, however, was not alone in his contributions of Miltonic octosyllabics to the *American Magazine*. Immediately following his "Ode on Music" this journal printed an unsigned ode "On a late Marriage," beginning:

Tuneful sisters! sacred *Nine!* Haste, with me, to *Hymen*'s shrine, . . .

See, the happy pair advance — Wake the music, wake the dance! Lightly trip it o'er the ground To instruments of every sound! 2

The anonymous author was less successful than Hopkinson in catching Milton's grace and charm, but he was clearly trying to do so, with "L'Allegro" particularly in mind. A few months later the same magazine printed another octosyllabic poem, "Winter," which, without containing definite echoes, is sufficiently Miltonic in tone to suggest that Philadelphia had early produced two or three poets who were singularly receptive to the influence of the lighter minor poems.

From this time on, Milton's early verse made almost as great an impression upon American writing as did *Paradise Lost*. In 1765 Thomas Godfrey gave evidence, in "The Wish," of the continued popularity of the octosyllabics among young Philadelphia writers. A few years later there was published a collection of poems by Godfrey's

² I, 45.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 238-40 (Feb., 1758). Neither of these two poems is attributed to Hopkinson by Hastings, who professes to have identified all of the poet's contributions to the *American*

Magazine.

¹ G. E. Hastings, The Life and Works of Francis Hopkinson (Chicago, 1926), p. 476.

⁴ See Thomas Godfrey, Juvenile Poems on Various Subjects (Philadelphia, 1765), pp. 37–38. It is difficult to determine the extent to which some of these "choice" poems are indebted to Milton. Livingston's Philosophic Solitude, of course, had borrowed phrases and almost whole lines from Paradise Lost. Godfrey's "Wish" recalls the octosyllabics, but less positively. In this discussion I have ignored some poems, such as Benjamin Church's avowed imitation of Pomfret, which praises Milton highly (see The Choice [Worcester, 1802; written in 1757], p. 8) but shows no signs of his poetic style.

friend, Nathaniel Evans, some of which are in lilting verses unmistakably Miltonic. His "Hymn to May" imitates not only the "Song. On May Morning" but "L'Allegro," for it begins:

> Now had the beam of Titan gay Usher'd in the blissful May, Scatt'ring from his pearly bed, Fresh dew on ev'ry mountain's head: Nature mild and debonnair, To thee, fair maid, yields up her care.¹

Other echoes of "L'Allegro" are to be found in "An Anacreontic Ode," in the lines:

> Hence with sorrow, spleen and care! Muse, awake the jocund air;

Avaunt! thou fiend, pale melancholy! We are mortals free and jolly.2

"To Melancholy," though not printed as a companion piece to the "Hymn to May," belongs with it because of its similarity of verse and contrariety of sentiment and because it shows the influence of "Il Penseroso" in the opening invocation:

> Come, thou Queen of pensive air, In thy sable, sooted car.3

Publications in other parts of the country reflect a similar interest in Milton's doublets. The president and fellows of Harvard College evidently read Milton thoroughly before engaging in their poetic labors of addressing the volume, Pietas et Gratulatio, to George III upon his accession. The death of George II hardly called for the light tripping meter of the octosyllabics, but something like it was borrowed by Samuel Sewall to expand the stanza used in one poem which, with an occasional phrase such as "the night-raven sing," recalls "L'Allegro." 4 Another poem by Sewall, in Miltonic blank verse, also sug-

² *Ibid.*, pp. 41, 42. 3 Ibid., p. 135.

Nathaniel Evans, Poems on Several Occasions (Philadelphia, 1772), p. 38.

⁴ Pietas et Gratulatio (Boston, 1761), poem v. The identifications of the authors here, and in the further discussion below, are from Justin Winsor, Library of Harvard University: Bibliographical Contributions, No. 4 (Cambridge, Mass., 1879).

gests the octosyllabics, with the command, "Hence, jarring discord." Indeed, the fellowship, in susceptibility to Milton's charm, produced strange companions in Boston, for not only the scholarly Sewall but the slave girl Phillis Wheatley found inspiration in the English poet's works—and, in his octosyllabics, exemplars for her companion hymns, "To the Morning" and "To the Evening." ²
One of the earliest poems of Philip Freneau is in the measure of

One of the earliest poems of Philip Freneau is in the measure of "L'Allegro." Written in 1770, "The Power of Fancy" shows, by a footnote referring to *Paradise Lost*, that Milton was in the author's mind, and the concluding lines indicate that his reading had not been

entirely confined to the major poem:

By thee Elysian groves were made, Thine were the notes that Orpheus play'd; By thee was Pluto charm'd so well While rapture seiz'd the sons of hell— Come, O come—perceiv'd by none, You and I will walk alone.³

Freneau's schoolmate, friend, and early collaborator, Hugh Henry Brackenridge, was also (to use his own words) "touched with the magic sound of Milton's harp"; and he revealed the particular touch of "L'Allegro" in his octosyllabic "Genethlicon of the United States Magazine," when he appealed to "Maids of virgin-beauty fair" and "Widows gay and debonnair" for support and subscriptions. In the South, the young Charlestonian, Joseph Ladd, showed the more serious effect of Milton's influence in his "Retirement," which began with "Hail sweet retirement! hail!" and continued in a seven-syllable meter and in the tone of "Il Penseroso." 5

"L'Allegro" and "Il Penseroso" were easily the most frequently imitated of Milton's minor poems, in America as in England. Curiously in contrast with the history of Milton's influence in England,

¹ Pietas et Gratulatio, poem XXIX.

3 The Poems of Philip Freneau, ed. F. L. Pattee (Princeton), I (1902), 39. The reference

to Paradise Lost is on p. 35.

4 The United States Magazine, I, 43 (Jan., 1779).

² Poems on Various Subjects (London, 1773), pp. 56-57, 58-59. Although the phrasing indicates that the author was remembering Milton while writing these companion pieces, she does not follow the verse form of his doublets.

⁵ Joseph Ladd, The Poems of Arouet (Charleston, 1786), pp. 115-17.

however, is the fact that the next most influential of his minor poems in America was the Nativity ode. The earliest of the colonial writers (after Richard Steere) to draw upon Milton's "Hymn" was an anonymous contributor to the Philadelphia American Magazine in 1757, whose "Ode on the Nativity of Christ" is in stanzas that follow the rhyme scheme of the first six lines of Milton's stanza, although the relative positions of long and short lines are reversed. The phrasing of the American poem ("empyrean," "celestial train," "Aetherial plain," "radiant light," etc.) suggests *Paradise Lost* rather than the ode; but the lines,

> See from the blissful realms above, Descends the first-born of his love,

recall the rhetoric of the lesser poem, and the pun on the word sun in the concluding line has a precedent in stanza seven of the "Hymn." I

Ironically enough, the next most elaborate of the American imitations of Milton's poem on the bringer of "our great Redemption" was inspired by the accession of George III to the English throne and addressed to him upon that occasion. Professedly an elegy on George II, it nevertheless praises his successor extravagantly and concludes with the conception of the new king ascending the throne, as the sun emerging from darkness, shining with fresh luster. A stanza will show its resemblances to Milton's "Hymn":

> With sympathetic wo, thy noontide ray, Phoebus, suspend; ye clouds, obscure the day; Her face let Cynthia veil, Thick darkness spread her wing, And the night-raven sing, While Britons their sad fate bewail. Sacred flood, whose crystal tide, Gently gliding, rolls adown Fast by, once, the blissful town, THAMES! with pious tears supply'd, Swell high, and tell the vocal shore And jovial mariner, their glory's now no more! 2

¹ American Magazine and Monthly Chronicle, I, 131-32 (Dec., 1757). 2 Pietas et Gratulatio, poem v, stanza 5; by Stephen Sewall.

In form, this is an imitation of Milton's stanza, with an interpolated quatrain, and in content and language the conceit of the sun withholding its rays, although used for a different purpose, recalls the "Hymn," as do such phrases as "heav'n-born fair" and "orient floods." Other phrases, suggestive of "Lycidas" ("oaten pipe," "the forehead of the East"), of "L'Allegro" ("darkness spread her wing," "the night-raven sing"), and of the "Song. On May Morning" ("the gilded morning star," "Of glad day the harbinger"), and the appeal to the "celestial Muse" — all emphasize indebtedness to Milton and particularly to his minor poems.

Another example of American verse which drew upon the Nativity poem is Nathaniel Evans' fragmentary "Beginning of a Poem, on the

Passion and Resurrection of Christ," which opens:

Now came the hour, th' important hour, When Heav'n's eternal Son, ... 2

The closeness of this to the opening of Milton's poem, together with the appeal "Thou Paraclete divine, o'er-rule my humble lyre," makes clear the debt which this later fragment owes to its predecessor. A number of additional poems could be quoted (such as John Parke's ode, "For the New-Year, 1779," and further numbers of *Pietas et Gratulatio* that are reminiscent of the "Hymn"; and, although they provide no evidence of elaborate imitation, they help to show that the Nativity ode had a more extensive influence upon American verse than did any other of Milton's minor poems, with the exception of the octosyllabic doublets.

The elegies written in colonial America, though numerous, were as a rule not sufficiently ambitious to come within the sphere of influence of "Lycidas." Even the contributors to *Pietas et Gratulatio* were unwilling to attempt the sustained elevation of Milton's elegy and so

² Poems on Several Occasions, p. 136.

⁴ Poems x, by the Rev. Samuel Deane, and XIII, by the Rev. Samuel Cooper or Judge Peter Oliver.

¹ Lines 1–6 and 11–12 reproduce exactly the rhyme scheme of the "Hymn," with an adaptation of the meter which allows the relative number of syllables in lines 1–2 and 3 to be reversed and which calls for a shortening by one foot of line 6. Lines 7–10 are interpolated.

³ [John Parke] The Lyric Works of Horace (Philadelphia, 1786), the preface of which shows that Parke was well acquainted with Milton. The ode cited is on pp. 257-59.

avoided its irregular form, showing only by an occasional phrase that it had made an impression on them. The young Thomas Godfrey alone appears to have tried any considerable imitation. "To the Memory of General Wolfe" is a fairly long pastoral elegy in the form of a dialogue between shepherds with the significant names Damaetas and Lysidas. The elegy itself is modeled on Milton's poem rather closely but not slavishly. The conclusion illustrates the nearness with which the original was sometimes followed:

Haste here, ye Swains, here let your tears be shed, Weep Shepherds, weep, the brave *Amintor*'s dead. So sung the Swains, 'til Phoebus' radiant light, Chac'd to her azure bed the Queen of Night.

Occasional lines in other elegies suggest "Lycidas," but the influence of Milton seems merely incidental. John Parke, for example, begins his verses "On the Death of Doctor John Finney" with the Miltonic "Once more, Urania, breathe the plaintive lore." And the question from "Lycidas," "What boots it with uncessant care To... meditate the thankless Muse,...?", seems to have made an impression on American writers. Dr. Benjamin Church paraphrases it in a line immediately following a humble contrast of himself to Milton, when he says, "What boots the Song, ah what avails the Meed!" 3 Nathaniel Evans, who elsewhere imitates Milton so freely, also appears to have "Lycidas" in mind when he writes of the muses:

Much boots it us to court their sacred lore, To gen'rous deeds to animate the soul, The sage instruction o'er the mind to pour, And all the giddy passions to control.⁴

¹ Juvenile Poems, pp. 29-34.

² Op. cit., p. 223. Incidentally, Urania visited the shores of America more often than all the other muses together. Of course, she was the legitimate familiar of the almanac makers; but her appearance also indicates the tradition of Christian poetry, which Miss Lily B. Campbell has shown developing during the Renaissance (see "The Christian Muse," Huntington Library Bulletin, No. 8, pp. 29–70) and which continued well into the eighteenth century. In America, Milton so completely represented that tradition that the appearance of Urania, the "heavenly muse," may frequently be attributed to his direct influence.

³ Elegy on the Death of the Reverend Jonathan Mayhew, D.D. (Boston [1766]), p. 4.

^{4 &}quot;Heroic Stanzas," op. cit., p. 71.

These instances are of enough interest to show that "Lycidas" was read by American poets, even though it was not extensively imitated.

The remaining minor poems, with the exception of the "Song. On May Morning," made little impression on colonial American verse. From the "Song," Nathaniel Ames adapted four lines for the May section of his 1747 almanac; echoes of it appeared in *Pietas et Gratulatio*; and Nathaniel Evans imitated it in his "Hymn to May," a part of which has already been quoted in connection with the octosyllabics. One other poem particularly affected by Milton's "Song" should be mentioned. W. Holland's "Ode to May" begins:

Sweet May, whose Charms disclose The beauties of the opening rose . . .

The month is called the "sweet Harbinger of all that's dear," and, as the shepherds greet the May morning, reference is made to the "orient star." *Comus* alone among the other works seems to have made a noticeable impression. Hugh Henry Brackenridge's "A Masque, Written at the Warm-Springs in Virginia, in the Year 1784" is more or less in the manner of Milton and contains some echoes of his diction. Yet, in general, Comus* was not a poem which had wide influence. For example, John Parke seems to have been altogether free of it in his Virginia: A Pastoral Drama.

The most interesting fact about the record of Milton's minor poems in America is the outstanding popularity of "L'Allegro" and "Il Penseroso." With the exception of occasional satiric poems and popular ballads, the body of colonial verse had long been made up of stiff, strained, "pen in hand" productions; and it was not until the middle of the eighteenth century that American poetry relaxed. It may be that the lyric impulse was simply mysteriously absent, as seems to have been the case to a certain extent in England; or it may have been that the colonial writers were too self-consciously solemn about their

¹ New-Haven Gazette and Connecticut Magazine, I, 93 (May 4, 1786).

² Published in the *Pittsburgh Gazette*, June 16, 1787, and partially reprinted in Claude M. Newlin, *The Life and Writings of Hugh Henry Brackenridge* (Princeton, 1932), pp. 65-67.

³ Virginia (Philadelphia, 1786) was, according to its preface, "in imitation of the Arcadia," but one might expect echoes of *Comus* in it had Parke's interest in Milton extended to his masque. Philip Freneau read *Comus* but remained seemingly unaffected by it. See his "Account of some of the West India Islands," *United States Magazine*, I, 33 (Jan., 1799).

poetic abilities to yield to any but the most noble or formally elegant impulses. But, in any event, when a second generation of eighteenthcentury versemakers arose, they proved their freedom from some of the old restraint by turning with frequency and enthusiasm to the lilting octosyllabics. In certain aspects, this freedom, which allowed the young writers to yield to the charm that could be found in the most admired of English poets, indicates a broadening of the poetic horizon and marks the beginning of a more real and less affected literary culture in the colonies.

The instances given in the preceding section of this article show that it is easy to indicate a somewhat extensive influence of Milton's minor poems in America, by pointing out direct imitations and verbal borrowings. But with Paradise Lost the case is different. The English epic possessed a sustained excellence beyond the aspirations of the colonial poets, and most of them avoided any sustained imitation. Yet Paradise Lost was undoubtedly considered the greatest poem in English literature, and, accordingly, almost every one of the later colonial serious poets was conscious of it when he wrote. For example, although Samuel Davies, "the Virginia Pindar," hardly shows traceable signs of Miltonic influence in his poems, when criticized he is quick to cite the authority of Milton. The result of this consciousness was that a number of these early American writers identified in their own work evidences of Milton's influence which their readers ordinarily might not have recognized, and they liked to point them out in notes or to have their friends do so for them.

An illustration of this tendency to admit an influence not superficially apparent is to be found in the work of Hugh Henry Brackenridge. When he published his Poem on Divine Revelation he accompanied it by a prefatory apology:

... it may be objected, that an imitation of the Poet Milton may be traced through the whole performance, though the Author has not been able to attain to any thing of the spirit of that immortal bard. To this he has only to reply, that an imitation of great originals is placed by Longinus among

See The Virginia Gazette, July 3, 1752, p. 3; July 10, p. 3. Cf. further citations by an anonymous defender of Davies, in the issues of May 22 and June 18, 1782.

the sources of good writing. He therefore conceives himself free from censure... and ... throws himself on the candour of the Public.

Such frankness naturally leads the reader to expect a pervading, obvious influence of *Paradise Lost* — and, indeed, the blank verse may be called Miltonic. Otherwise, however, later readers may be inclined to ask, with the author's contemporary, William Linn: "In what can his imitation of Milton consist unless in the word *Erst*?" ² Yet, despite the accusation implicit in the sarcasm of Linn's remark, the apology cannot be disregarded as an attempt to arouse interest by trading upon a great poet's reputation: too much of Brackenridge's verse is dominated by Milton, and, if particular works show his influence only vaguely, the cumulative effect of all the evidence is convincing. Brackenridge was so thoroughly aware of Milton ³ that he frequently imitated him, consciously, in ways that cannot be indicated by quotations.

Similarly, other writers of the age called attention to unquestionable, if not very obvious, imitations of Milton in their works. Freneau emphasized the Miltonic quality of his part of *The Rising Glory of America*, when he introduced into a revised version the definitely imitative lines:

Now shall the adventurous muse attempt a theme More new, more noble and more flush of fame Than all that went before.4

And in his "House of Night" he carefully cites a vague parallelism to *Paradise Lost.*⁵ In a like manner, John Duncombe, author of "The Feminead; or Female Genius," confesses that his phrase, "touch'd

¹ Quoted by Newlin (op. cit., p. 31) from the preface of the Philadelphia, 1774, edition.

² Quoted by Newlin (op. cit., p. 32).

³ In addition to the writings already mentioned in the discussion of minor poems, his first production, *The Rising Glory of America*, is Miltonic in style; the "Apology for the Cornwalliad" shows a consciousness of Milton (see *United States Magazine*, I, 17 [Jan., 1779]); his "Eulogium of the Brave Men [who fell during the Revolution]" adopts Milton's diction (*ibid.*, p. 351 [Aug., 1779]); and there are frequent allusions to Milton in his other writings of the period.

4 Poems, ed. Pattee, I, 49 (from the text of 1809). These opening lines appear in the

Philadelphia, 1786, edition (p. 42), but not in the original, 1772, version.

⁵ See *United States Magazine*, I, 361 (Aug., 1779). This note does not appear in the edition of 1786 or in Pattee's edition.

with truth's celestial spear," imitates Milton's "Ithuriel with his spear touched lightly"—a resemblance which otherwise might pass unnoticed. Numerous other illustrations of this extraordinarily acute consciousness of Milton's work might be cited from John Trumbull, who was reading Milton at the age of eight, refers, in *The Progress of Dulness*, to his "deathless page," and draws heavily upon *Paradise Lost* for his own mock-heroic *M'Fingal*. In the latter poem many of the allusions to Milton are clear, some of the parody (such as the account of the Tory Pandemonium) is easily perceived, and occasional uses of Miltonic language are recognizable. But a large portion of the incidental imitations of *Paradise Lost* would no longer be traceable were it not for the notes (in the London, 1792, edition of the poem) attributed to Joel Barlow, though certainly supplied in part by the author. For example, only a note approved by the author would justify a reader in holding the great English poem responsible for the couplet:

As Eve, when falling, was so modest To fancy she should grow a goddess.³

These instances are introduced to show that any study of the influence of *Paradise Lost* which confines itself to the conventionally acceptable evidence of closely parallel passages is likely to underestimate the actual influence upon authors in the late colonial era; for there existed an undercurrent of conscious imitation which is brought to the surface only by occasional notes — notes that sometimes were not introduced until later or appeared in periodicals. The extent of this undercurrent cannot be determined, but it would seem to have been fairly widespread.

This does not mean, however, that parallel passages cannot be cited. They are to be found in some of the poems already mentioned; and they also occur in certain of the heroic poems of the time. The opening lines of one of the earliest of these, George Cockings' War,

Boston Magazine, II, 430 (Nov., 1785).

The first two cantos were originally published in 1775, the second two in 1782. Some of the notes were reprinted in the New York, 1795, edition of M'Fingal and some appear in V. L. Parrington, The Connecticut Wits (New York, 1926).

³ M'Fingal, Canto I. The note declares "So says Milton"!

are reminiscent of the beginning of *Paradise Lost*. Joel Barlow also showed signs of Milton's influence "previous to the conclusion" of the Revolutionary War, when he composed the greater part of his *Vision of Columbus*. That he wrote in the consciousness of *Paradise Lost* is apparent from the allusion:

... as on plains of light, when Michael strove, And swords of Cherubim to combat move; Ten thousand fiery forms together play, And flash new lightning on empyreal day.²

And, although he certainly had no intention of comparing Louis XVI with Satan, he recalled the opening of the parliament of hell, in the lines:

Bright o'er the scenes of state, a golden throne, Instarr'd with gems and hung with purple, shone. Great Louis there, the pride of monarchs, sate.³

The "high converse" held between Columbus and the Angel in Book VIII bears some resemblance to the colloquy of Adam and Raphael,⁴ and the Incan address to the sun echoes Adam and Eve's morning orisons.⁵ Such passages show that even a writer who consciously "rejected the idea of a regular Epic form" did not succeed in freeing himself from the influence of the foremost example of that form in English.

The period's one heroic poem that measurably achieves a sustained imitation of *Paradise Lost* is Timothy Dwight's *Conquest of Canäan*, written in 1771-74 and first published, with some additions, in 1785.

¹ George Cockings, War: An Heroic Poem (Boston, 1762; written in 1758), p. 1. The author appealed to Urania as well as Clio to fill his soul with "coelestial ardour" (see p. 13), but his poem as a whole followed the eighteenth-century heroic writers rather than Milton.

John Maylem's *The Conquest of Louisburg* (Boston, 1758) is described by William B. Otis (American Verse, 1625–1807 [New York, 1909], p. 20) as being in imitation of Paradise Lost. The blank verse of the same author's Gallic Perfidy (Boston, 1758) may also owe something to Milton. See the opening lines quoted by Otis, pp. 20–21. I have been unable to see either of these poems.

Joel Barlow, The Vision of Columbus (Hartford, 1787), p. 161.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 179. ⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 216.

⁵ Ibid., pp. 104-5. For other examples of Milton's influence on the Vision of Columbus, see T. A. Zunder, The Early Days of Joel Barlow (New Haven, 1934), p. 219.

Dwight obviously has Milton in mind when he apologizes in his preface for not using blank verse. He "wishes to please" and explains that he "has made use of Rhyme, because he believed it would be more generally relished than blank verse, even amongst those who are esteemed persons of taste." The poem itself is at times fairly close to Paradise Lost. For example, the first book begins with a brief statement of the theme, followed by an invocation,

> O thou, whose Love, high thron'd above all height, Illumes th' immense,

which is clearly Miltonic, although the tagging of the couplet, "and sunns the world of light," goes far toward destroying the effect. The action opens after a battle, with the Israelites in extreme distress holding a council of war. "Mid the sad throng, in mournful robes array'd . . . Pale Hanniel rose" and addressed his companions:

> Friends! brethren! sires! or by what tenderer name Shall I address the heirs of Jacob's fame?

He declared that "reason's the noblest privilege of man"; counseled,

'Gainst Heaven's decree let folly cease to rise, And tempt no more the vengeance of the skies;

and exhorted a return to Egypt.2 The situation and the gathering recall the parliament in hell, Hanniel's opening words, especially, suggesting Beelzebub's method of attracting attention, and his advice the speech of Belial. Perhaps even more suggestive is the account of the sequel to his speech, in its resemblance to the reaction of the fallen angels to the words of Mammon and Satan:

> The hero spoke. As when, in distant skies, Slow-roll'd, the darkening storm begins to rise, Thro' the deep grove, and thro' the sounding vale, Roar the long murmurs of the sweeping gale: So round the throng a hoarse applause was heard, And growing joy in every face appear'd.3

I The Conquest of Canäan; A Poem, in Eleven Books (Hartford, 1785), author's prefatory note.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 1, 5, 6, 9 ff. 3 Ibid., pp. 12-13.

Later portions of Dwight's narrative lend themselves less readily to an imitation of *Paradise Lost*, but on the whole, in spite of differences in subject matter and verse form, the American religious poem is clearly

marked by similarities to its great predecessor.

Another poem which, in its fragmentary sections, draws frequently upon Paradise Lost is the Anarchiad, published during the winter of 1786-87. Although, strictly speaking, it is an imitation of the Rolliad, it nevertheless is frequently a burlesque of Milton. The author of the prefatory note to the first number, while giving an account of the pretended discovery of an ancient manuscript, confesses to its literary antecedents when he says, "Perhaps, in a future essay, I shall attempt to prove that Homer, Virgil, and Milton, have borrowed many of their capital beauties from it." Numerous scattered phrases are reminiscent of Milton's epic, and the sustained description of Anarch's defeat is especially Miltonic:

Hesper victorious! I a vanquish'd god! Gape wide, profoundest hell! in Stygian flame Hide your lost Anarch from undying shame!

He spoke! Astonish'd from the central bound Heav'd the dark gulf and ope'd the rocking ground; From all the extremes of chaos, wild and waste, With hollow murmur swell'd the roaring blast; Ting'd with sulphureous flames, obscurely curl'd, Black clouds, expanding, swept the nether world.³

It is possible, too, that the authors of the *Anarchiad* not only drew upon the "capital beauties" of Milton's language but also found in his Satan the prototype for Anarch, who, after he fell, was to restore his empire and exalt his throne through the subversion of the new American congress.

Comparatively little blank verse was written in America during

Later resemblances are to be found, particularly, in the account of the Creation, in

Book II, and in the vision which is brought to Joshua, in Books IX-X.

² The Anarchiad was originally published in the New-Haven Gazette and Connecticut Magazine, in a series of short fragments beginning Oct. 26, 1786. Its authors were David Humphreys, John Trumbull, Joel Barlow, and Lemuel Hopkins. The citations here are to the numbered fragments as published in the edition by Luther G. Riggs (New Haven, 1861).

³ No. 1x. Miltonic phrases are to be found especially in Nos. 1, 1v, v1, 1x, and x1.

the colonial period. As Timothy Dwight observed, rhyme seems to have been "more generally relished"; and of the unrhymed verse a large proportion was in the manner of Shakespeare (who had come to be considered, by many, an even greater poet than Milton), with an occasional example of the restrained type which might be associated with Akenside. Nathaniel Ames, as has been noted earlier, made an attempt at Miltonic blank verse; Hugh Henry Brackenridge produced quantities of it; and Philip Freneau followed *Paradise Lost* in his part of *The Rising Glory of America*. An example from the latter will illustrate the Miltonic quality:

A new Jerusalem sent down from heav'n Shall grace our happy earth, perhaps this land, Whose virgin bosom shall then receive, tho' late, Myriads of saints with their almighty king, To live and reign on earth a thousand years Thence call'd Millennium. Paradise anew Shall flourish, by no second Adam lost. No dang'rous tree or deathful fruit shall grow, No tempting serpent to allure the soul, From native innocence; . . . I

In this particular passage Milton is probably responsible for the substance as well as the verse, which shows the stateliness that the American poet tried to achieve by borrowing from *Paradise Lost* the devices of unusual word order, parenthesis, apposition, and the omission of unnecessary verbs.²

There were also some less important poets who were occasionally publishing Miltonic blank verse. In December, 1757, the American Magazine and Monthly Chronicle printed an anonymous "Fragment from Orpheus," the nature of which may be seen from the following lines:

Thou driv'st the winds, and with thy dusky clouds Obscurest all; diffusing o'er the air, Immense, thy fiery whirlwinds! High thy throne Among the Stars, by laws unchangeable Supported, mov'd.³

From Pattee's reprint of the original version, in Poems, I, 80-81.

² Further consideration of the poem would reveal another Miltonic device of which Freneau was fond: the sonorous crowding together of proper names.

³ Dated "Maryland, Decem. 1. 1757"; in the American Magazine, I, 130.

Although too small a fragment (eighteen lines in all) to be called a considerable imitation of *Paradise Lost*, the poem nevertheless shows a deliberate use of the inverted word-order characteristic of Milton. A longer and more directly imitative work is the ambitious "Harvardinum Restauratum," celebrating the restoration of Harvard after the destructive fire of 1764. Written by a graduate who considered "British Milton much surpassing both" Virgil and Homer, it emphasizes the critical opinions of the author by such verse as this:

When Hyperborean blasts rush'd o'er the Plain,
When all within their walls, by driving snows,
Were close pent up, what pen the deep distress
And heart-felt pangs can paint, when wak'd from sleep
By cry of fire up-starting in amaze,
From venerable Harvard's sacred roofs,
Where learning's treasures lay, the spiral flame
Forth bursting we beheld!²

In some respects "Harvardinum Restauratum" may be taken to represent the climax — or, perhaps more accurately, the anticlimax — of the influence of *Paradise Lost* in America, for no other colonial writer succeeded so thoroughly in out-Miltoning Milton.

Certainly, another Boston versemaker who wrote about Harvard in Miltonic blank verse was more restrained. Phillis Wheatley, in a poem "To the University of Cambridge, in New-England," addressed

the students:

Students, to you 'tis giv'n to scan the heights Above, to traverse the ethereal space, And mark the systems of revolving worlds. Still more, ye sons of science ye receive The blissful news by messengers from heav'n, How Jesus' blood for your redemption flows.³

² Ibid., XI (Transactions), 57. Originally published in the Boston Gazette for Apr. 7, 1766.

3 Poems on Various Subjects, p. 15.

¹ Nothing is known of the author of the poem, except that he evidently graduated from Harvard shortly before or just after the fire. I wonder whether it could have been written by either Ebenezer or Samuel Barnard, one of whom owned a copy of *Paradise Lost* which was destroyed by the fire. See *Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts*, XIV (*Transactions*), 36.

But the blank verse of the New England slave girl is less significant of Milton's influence in America, perhaps, than are her rhymes, which are pervaded by Miltonic diction. Her paraphrase, "Isaiah lxiii. I-8," begins "Say, heav'nly muse"; and her poem "On the Death of the Rev. Mr. George Whitefield. 1770" starts "Hail, happy saint, on thine immortal throne" — forms of address which were probably derived from Milton. The heroic couplets of "Thoughts on the Works of Providence" contain numerous Miltonic echoes, and her "Thoughts on his Excellency Major General Lee" reveal, in a number of lines, her knowledge of the first book of *Paradise Lost*."

Other poets show occasional borrowings from Milton, sometimes in curious ways. James Bowdoin was surely transforming the familiar "Hail, wedded love" into more elegant language when he wrote, in two different poems, "All hail, connubial love." And Joseph Ladd used lines from *Paradise Lost* as models for his "translations," or versifications, of Ossian.³ But such borrowings or imitations of individual phrases and short passages, unless pointed out in notes, can rarely be affirmed with any confidence. When a writer expresses himself in

the vein,

High-thron'd, the monarch, from his golden car, Survey'd the trophies of successful war. Majestic, tall the mighty hero rose . . . , 4

and when he continues with lines like "When lo! spontaneous, from the mountains rent," 5 it is reasonably safe to say that he has been affected by *Paradise Lost* as well as by eighteenth-century heroic verse. But such a conclusion is possible only in the case of sustained

² Pietas et Gratulatio, poems xxvIII, xxx. No other single piece of English poetry was reprinted in colonial American periodicals as often as the "Hail, wedded love" passage from

Paradise Lost.

³ See notes to "The Battle between Swaran and Cuchullin" and "Hymn to the Sun.

Translated from Ossian," in Poems of Arouet, pp. 34, 37, 41, 127.

5 Pt. 2 (ibid., p. 269 [Oct. 12, 1786]).

¹ See *ibid.*, pp. 60, 22, 43–50, and *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, VII, 166–67, for the poems mentioned. It may have been in recognition of her fondness for Milton that, when she was taken to London in 1773, Brook Watson, Lord Mayor to-be, presented her with a copy of the Glasgow, 1770, edition of *Paradise Lost*. See *The Nation*, LXXXVII, 625.

^{4 &}quot;The Trial of Faith" (a versification of the book of Daniel), in New-Haven Gazette and Connecticut Magazine, I, 245 (Sept. 21, 1786).

effusions, and we cannot guess how many uncertified verbal debts to

Milton are buried in the miscellaneous verse of the period.

Yet, even without the doubtful evidence of a too subtle consideration of phraseology, the fact of the influence of *Paradise Lost* upon American poetry between 1750 and 1787 is clear: it was extremely widespread, affecting practically all who made any pretense of writing serious verse, as well as a considerable number of anonymous and occasional poets. Although there were fewer direct or finished imitations of the epic than of the minor poems, its popularity was not less great. *Paradise Lost* was a fruitful source for many incidental borrowings and imitations, but what Brackenridge called its "excellent spirit" was far above even the aspirations of the colonial versifiers. Frequently they had visions of "a Homer and a Milton" rising on the western shores of the Atlantic, but it was always in the dim future.

In looking back over Milton's influence upon colonial American poetry, we can see that it was considerable. Between thirty-five and forty writers were unquestionably affected by his work, and this number includes (with the exception of some satirists and writers of ballads or songs, whose productions were naturally unsusceptible to Miltonic influences) practically every remembered author who practiced the art of verse in eighteenth-century America. Although Milton hardly touched writers on this side of the Atlantic until nearly a generation after his death, the stream of his influence appeared early in the eighteenth century and steadily widened throughout the colonial period. At first awkwardly flowing almost entirely from *Paradise Lost*, it grew in strength and size, receiving contributions from the minor poems, until it spread through nearly the whole of colonial poetry.

To Americans, however, Milton was primarily the author of Paradise Lost. It was this single poem which rendered him comparable to Homer — conventionally regarded as the greatest of world poets — and it was Paradise Lost that made the most extensive contribution to American verse. Paradise Regained and Samson Agonistes were overshadowed by it, until only rare allusions and quotations show that they were even read. Among the minor poems, "L'Allegro" and "Il Penseroso" were the most popular and the most frequently imitated, although the "Song. On May Morning" was linked to them by its

similar lightness of style. Next among the early poems was the ode, "On the Morning of Christ's Nativity," which served occasionally as the prototype for American poems somewhat similar in theme. These, with "Lycidas" and *Comus*, formed the body of Milton's work which influenced American verse. The sonnets were almost entirely ignored.

The importance of these facts, however, is not in the relative popularity of Milton's various poems but in the extent of their influence. They reveal that, in comparison with the amount of verse written in each country, Milton was about as well known among American as among English writers, and that he had relatively the same amount of influence upon them. The eighteenth-century colonists were not (as some generalizations would have us believe) strangely ignorant of the traditions of English poetry, working away in the darkness of a literary wilderness illuminated only by the dazzling brilliance of Pope. Their accomplishments, though admittedly slight and frequently mean, were attained under some of the same influences from the past that affected their contemporaries in England. When the ambitious colonial poet "took his pen in hand" to produce more than occasional verse, he usually did so with a full consciousness of the work of John Milton.



Some Victorian Forged Rarities

By ROLAND BAUGHMAN

N JULY, 1934, John Carter and Graham Pollard published An Enquiry into the Nature of Certain Nineteenth Century Pamphlets — in reality an exposure of some thirty falsely dated books and a -scrutiny of nearly as many others that are highly questionable. Immediately, students of English literature of the period, as well as chagrined collectors, entered into spirited discussion in literary journals, and for a time the subject reached the news columns of the daily press. It was evident, however, that attention was being focussed on personalities rather than on the crucial evidence in the case, and, consequently, very little material supplementary to the original study has reached print. This is unfortunate, since the authors of the Enquiry had frankly left certain cases open, pending the accumulation of further information from collectors and librarians in possession of the books. Moreover, as long as the evidence against the forgeries remains within the books themselves, rather than in the confession of the perpetrator, it follows that no case is complete and closed until every extant copy of a challenged book is examined.

The Huntington Library is the fortunate possessor of fifty-four of the fifty-five questioned books. The word "fortunate" is used designedly, for it now appears that what these books have lost in status as rarities is compensated for, at least in part, by their added interest as documentary evidence of a great bibliographical hoax. With all but one of the suspected items at hand, there was an unusual opportunity — as well as a strong motive — for studying the case against

¹ A few important reviews and discussions are: Viscount Esher, "Sherlock in Bookland," The Nineteenth Century and After, CXVI, Literary Supplement, pp. xlii-xliii (Aug., 1934); R. B. McKerrow, in The Library, XV, 379–84 (Dec., 1934); A. J. A. Symons, "The Nineteenth Century Forgeries," The Book-Collector's Quarterly, No. XV, pp. 1–16 (July-Sept., 1934); C. B. Tinker, "A Bibliographical Hoax," The Saturday Review of Literature, XI, 45–46 (Aug. 11, 1934); I. A. Williams, in The London Mercury, XXX, 359–61 (Aug., 1934).

them; it was with this in mind that the investigation of the Huntington Library copies was begun. At the outset it became apparent that the histories of these copies serve only to strengthen the negative cases against them, for in no instance can the provenance of the pamphlets concerned be traced with certainty farther back than 1896, although nearly three-fourths bear imprint dates earlier than 1880. Extension of the investigation to other books in the field of nineteenth-century literature has yielded data that augment and correct certain minor details of the evidence as given in the *Enquiry*, suggest additional titles to be included in the list of suspected books, and supply one new

clue which appears to be of considerable importance.

The authors of the Enquiry introduced certain positive evidence which, if it stands, is adequate proof that more than half of the pamphlets under scrutiny bear internal evidence that they were not printed at the times stated or by the printers credited in the imprints. Occasionally, this positive evidence rests on the carelessness of the forger, who chose a form of text that did not exist at the purported time of printing. In one case, the firm credited with the printing is shown to have passed out of existence before the date of the pamphlet. The authors' main achievement, however, was their convincing demonstration of the use, in twenty-seven instances, of either a type face or a kind of paper (both, in twelve cases) that in reality was not available at the alleged time of printing. In sixteen of these pamphlets, supposedly issued between 1842 and 1873, in places as widely separated as Reading, England, and Cambridge, Massachusetts, the particular combination of type faces from which they were printed is shown to have originated in 1880,3 and to have been thereafter the exclusive possession of one firm, R. Clay, Sons, and Taylor, in London. Another book,4 also printed from the special type but dated 1880, was challenged on the ground that the accredited printer could not have possessed this type, although it existed.5 Twenty-two pam-

¹ Carter and Pollard, An Enquiry . . . (London, 1934), pp. 71-74, 91.

Reasons for changing this date to 1877 will be found below, p. 97.

⁴ Tennyson's Child-Songs (1880). (Carter and Pollard, op. cit., pp. 379-80.)
⁵ Two other pamphlets, Ruskin's The National Gallery (1852) and Thackeray's An Interesting Event (1849), show the use of the recut "old style" type face, which was not available before 1852 and probably not before 1860. (Carter and Pollard, op. cit., pp. 57-58.)

² Swinburne's Dead Love (1864). (Carter and Pollard, op. cit., pp. 80-81, 91, 269-71.)

phlets, twelve of them among those proved by their type to be false, were printed on paper containing ingredients not used in papermaking until after the purported dates of imprint.

Messrs. Carter and Pollard have demonstrated that, in all, thirty pamphlets contain internal evidence of the falsity of their imprints, and their claim to being first editions is thereby at once disproved.

The cases against the other twenty-five items are not so conclusively established, although at least thirteen of the books are subject to gravest suspicion, six more are questionable, and five are piracies at best. The single remaining item, Tenynson's To H.R.H. Princess Beatrice (1885), was mentioned but left unclassified, Messrs. Carter and Pollard having been unable to examine a copy prior to the publication of their book.² In another instance, Stevenson's Ticonderoga (1887), investigation of certain dubious features resulted in establishing the book as a "perfectly genuine," though possibly unauthorized, first edition.³

The situation as left by the authors of the *Enquiry* is, then, that more than fifty books, most of them hitherto accepted by scholars and collectors as rare first editions and therefore of textual as well as monetary importance, are now classed as certain or possible forgeries, the cases against them ranging from seemingly sure proof to doubt caused by the absence of any evidence of their existence before 1888.⁴ In addition to this lack of early provenance, all of the questioned books are linked by similarities of format, and by their tendency to appear on the market in well-defined groups and always in "mint" condition.⁵

As stated above, all but one of the suspected items are to be found in the Huntington Library. Prior to the appearance of the exposure, the possibility of naming fifty-four modern first editions of the supposed importance of these, whose ownership in not a single instance could be traced to the purported time of printing, would have seemed incredible. Yet examination has revealed that in no case can the provenance of the books in question be so traced. In fact, frequently

¹ Carter and Pollard, op. cit., pp. 42-55, 89-90.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 341-42. ³ *Ibid.*, p. 266.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 85. This is of minor importance, of course, in the cases of pamphlets which bear imprint dates after 1880.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 92-93.

the only definite information available concerns the immediate source and date of acquisition by Mr. Huntington, although, in the cases of thirty-two books that were secured in the *en bloc* purchase of the library of Mr. Frederic R. Halsey, the careful notations of the previ-

ous owner trace the record one step farther back.

Close examination of the books as a group serves only to emphasize their physical similarities, and comparison with genuine books of the period, far from exonerating any of the suspects, strengthens the evidence against them. Comparison, for example, of Wordsworth's To the Queen (1846), bearing the imprint of the Kendal printers, Branthwaite and Son, with another pamphlet by the same author and printers, Kendal and Windermere Railway. Two Letters . . . [1844], reveals a difference that is most easily accounted for by consider-

ing the former to be a forgery.

In the examination of the case against the suspected books, the writer's attention was particularly attracted by the "type" and "paper" evidence, for Messrs. Carter and Pollard's findings on developments in English type design and paper manufacture, apart from their value in showing specific books to have been falsely dated, have a general significance with regard to the subject of bookmaking in the nineteenth century. Practical considerations have prevented appraisal of the details of the "paper evidence" in the present survey: it will be understood that cutting specimen pieces from a book or otherwise impairing its condition, which would be required for analysis of the content of the paper, is not the privilege of a librarian. However, investigation of the "type evidence" has yielded a few points worthy of mention.

The typographical test ³ as applied in the *Enquiry* involves two main factors: (1) the date of introduction of a specific variety of "kernless" letters "f" and "j"; and (2) the date when, and place where, this variety was combined with a particular type and a certain "wrong face" question mark of slightly smaller size. A third factor,

¹ Ibid., pp. 355-56. An asserted forgery on the basis of the evidence of type.

3 Carter and Pollard, op. cit., pp. 56-70.

² An objection raised against the date 1861, cited in the *Enquiry* as marking the beginning of the use of esparto grass in papermaking, was answered by Graham Pollard in a letter to the *Publishers' Circular*, CXLII, 298-99 (Mar. 2, 1935).

the date of the cutting of the modernized version of the "old style" type face, is potentially of as great, if not greater, importance, but at the time of publication of the *Enquiry* this date could not be fixed more exactly than the period 1852 to 1860, and therefore was not used

as positive evidence against the supposed forgeries.

The story of the origin of the special mixture 2 goes back to the year 1880, when the printing firm of R. Clay, Sons, and Taylor, of London, noting that the kerns3 of the lower-case letters "f" and "j" had a tendency to break off, sought a more durable form. Various experiments failing, "some time after 1880" the firm of P. M. Shanks & Company, typefounders, designed for Richard Clay a new and unusual form of these letters, in which the backs or vertical strokes were bent slightly inward — made "broken-backed" — bringing the terminals inside the shoulders of the type pieces. The argument is that "it is unlikely that Clay would have gone to this trouble if there had been any kernless design on the market at the time." 4 These letters, with the particular form of question mark mentioned above, were used with a type face that had been supplied by Shanks in 1876. Thus was formed an unusual combination of types, the earliest use of which known to Messrs. Carter and Pollard was in October, 1883.5 While the 1876 face was undoubtedly supplied to printers besides Clay, the contention is that there is only the remotest possibility that it could have become mixed in this particular way in any other printing office. Since many of the "forgeries" were printed from this special combination, it follows that they were printed by one concern, the Clay firm.6 If the details of these conclusions be accepted at face value, we

² Carter and Pollard, op. cit., pp. 59 ff.

3 Ibid., p. 58. When part of the printing surface of a piece of type projects beyond the

body (as in the case of a long terminal), the projection is known as a "kern."

¹ Ibid., p. 57 and n. 4. It was used, however, to confirm the text and paper evidence against Ruskin's The National Gallery (1852), and the paper evidence against Thackeray's An Interesting Event (1849).

⁴ Ibid., p. 59. In his review of the Enquiry, Dr. R. B. McKerrow (op. cit.) questions the date given for the introduction of kernless letters. He cites the third Earl Stanhope's short-lived "f" design of the early nineteenth century, and he notes kernless "f" and "j" types in the 1877 Mabinogion. He points out, however, that the existence of these designs does not affect the evidence against the forgeries.

⁵ Carter and Pollard, op. cit., p. 59 and n. 3.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 63.

should expect to find no kernless letters (save Clay's experimental forms) in books printed before 1880. Investigations have revealed, however, (1) that such letters do occur with some frequency in books of the sixties and seventies; and (2) that the period (as given by the Clay firm) during which the specially mixed font was used must be extended. While these points have little or no bearing on whether certain books are to be considered forgeries, they are important to anyone tempted to rely unduly upon the details of the "type evidence." For this reason, only, they warrant discussion at greater

length.

The writer has not found Clay's kernless letters to be the first of their kind. Printers, particularly those whose types were subjected to the uncommonly hard usage involved in printing periodicals, appear to have struggled with the problem of kerned letters for some time before 1875. Three instances will suffice. In the Illustrated London News of July 7, 1860, may be found a type face that contains kernless "f" and "j" sorts. There are good examples of both on the first page. The printer of this magazine, George C. Leighton, of London, may have used, even earlier, a smaller type with minimized kerns, but the issues in the Huntington Library were poorly printed from apparently worn type, so that a conclusion has not been reached. Certainly as early as 1871, Bradbury, Evans, and Company, also of London, had a font containing a kernless "f"; it may be seen in their publication, Punch, or the London Charivari, in the issue of January 7 of that year. In October, 1872, still another London printer, Bernard Colnaghi,

Apparently, there was also a quite general use of kernless designs in America. It is perhaps unnecessary to emphasize that they differ considerably from the Clay font. Although this use does not directly concern the question of the introduction of such designs into England, the citation of a few selected examples, between 1845 and 1874, may be of interest: Incidents in the Life of George Haydock, . . . (Hudson [N.Y.]: Columbia Washingtonian Print, 1845); Transactions of the Grand Lodge of Ancient York Masons . . . January 12th, A. L. 5853. . . . (Mt. Clemens [Mich.]: Landmark Print, 1853); Charter and Ordinances of the City of Leavenworth, compiled and revised by William Stanley, City Attorney. . . . (Leavenworth, K.T.: Frank F. Barclay's English, French and German Printing Establishment, 1859); Report of the Board of Curators of the University of the State of Missouri, . . . (Jefferson City [Mo.]: W. G. Cheeney, Public Printer, 1861); An Act to consolidate and make into one City, to be called Jersey City, . . . (Hudson City [N.J.]: Printed by William D. McGregor, 1869); First Annual Report of the Geological and Agricultural Survey of Texas, by S. B. Buckley, . . . State Geologist. . . . (Houston [Tex.]: A. C. Gray, State Printer, 1874).

began using kernless letters in *Dark Blue*, a monthly. In this case, both the kernless forms and the rest of the type, excepting the question mark, are so nearly like the Clay font that extremely careful comparison is required in order to distinguish them.

It has been objected that letters which appear to be kernless, but which antedate the Clay font, are in reality kerned forms that have been bent by wear. This may be true in some instances, but it seems very unlikely that it would account for all the specimens of kernless

letters that the writer has noted.

Concerning the question of the period during which the special font was used, the Enquiry notes that, although the main part of the special font was cast in 1876, the kernless designs were not added until between 1880 and 1883. This statement is based on information supplied by the Clay firm. Reference to Macmillan's Magazine, printed by Clay, reveals, however, that the special combination containing the kernless letters and the question mark was used in it as early as the issue of April, 1877. But an ample supply of these types seems not to have been available at that time, for the issue was printed partly from the type formerly in exclusive use, and partly from the new face.² From this it may be inferred that here we have an example of the earliest employment of the hybrid font, and, furthermore, that the combination was not the result of gradual development, as the Enquiry leads us to believe, but existed from the first. The Clay firm is also quoted as stating that the latest use of the type was in 1893.3 Reference, again, to Macmillan's Magazine reveals that it continued to be employed there through April, 1895.

These corrections must not be accorded undue significance; they affect but slightly the essential part of the type evidence. The difference of a few years one way or the other is not of itself very important, for, even though the special type was available in 1877 instead of 1880, it was still too late by thirty years for use in printing the "1847" Sonnets by E. B. B. It was not too late, however, for some of the addi-

tions to the list of suspected books, now to be discussed.

467-504, show the new font.

3 Carter and Pollard, op. cit., p. 64.

¹ Carter and Pollard, op. cit., pp. 59, 64 and n.
² E.g., pp. [417]-29, 461-66, have the type that was in earlier use, but pp. 430-60,

Examination of the Huntington Library's nineteenth-century first editions reveals two, not mentioned by Messrs. Carter and Pollard, which have the identical combination of types that marks Clay's hybrid font. On the basis of the "type evidence," these books are suspect because the credited printers could not have possessed the type from which they were printed; they are comparable in this respect to Tennyson's *Child-Songs* (1880), a proved "forgery." The two books are:

Tennyson, Alfred, Lord

Becket/ a Tragedy/ London: 1879
[On the verso of the title-page is the imprint "Clements: Printer."]

(The Frederic R. Halsey copy)

Ewald, Johannes

The/ Death of Balder/ from the Danish/ of/ Johannes Ewald/ (1773)/ translated by/ George Borrow/ Author of "Bible in Spain," "Lavengro," "Wild Wales," etc./ London/ Jarrold & Sons, 3 Paternoster Buildings, E.C./ 1889/ [All Rights Reserved] [At the bottom of page 77 is the imprint: "Printed by Ballantyne, Hanson and Co./ London and Edinburgh."]

(The H. Buxton Forman copy)

On negative evidence, alone, there is an equal chance that the Becket is a forgery. It is the so-called "trial" issue; the first edition appeared in 1884. Its American sales record shows a remarkable decline: in 1901 Dodd, Mead, and Company catalogued a copy "in binder's cloth" at \$900, but a glance at American Book Prices Current shows that on December 19, 1933, a copy went for only \$30. Such a decrease in price would be understandable in the case of the works of an unimportant author, or one who had known only a brief vogue with collectors; the discovery of a large "remainder" might also depress the market value of a book. None of these explanations, however, applies to Becket.

Although complications attended the publication of The Death of Balder,² it seems to have few suspicious features other than the special

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 379–80.

² T. J. Wise, A Bibliography of . . . Borrow . . . (London, 1914), pp. 112-13: "Although published only in 1889, The Death of Balder was actually set up in type three years earlier. It had been intended that the book should have been issued in London by Messrs. Reeves & Turner, and proof-sheets exist carrying upon the title-page the name of that firm as publishers,

type. It was bound in cloth; only one "forgery," Tennyson's Lucretius (1868), is known to have been so issued. The paper is laid, and watermarked "Abbey Hills/ Greenfield," underneath the coronet of a marquis; all but two of the questioned books are printed on wove paper without watermark. The book seems never to have achieved an auction figure exceeding £3 5s., indicating that, unlike most of the

suspects, it has not been a favorite of collectors.

The date of The Death of Balder also places it outside the regular sequence of suspected books and suggests the possibility that it was an earlier effort of the fabricator, completed perhaps before he had adopted his final scheme, which was the creation of fictitious "first issues" rather than plain piracy. In any case, it must be emphasized that neither it nor Becket is mentioned here as being a proved fraud, for, of course, as in every instance of a suspected book, a single copy with an established and complete provenance would authenticate the issue. Nevertheless, in both books the use of the hybrid font must be explained. From the evidence in Macmillan's Magazine it might be argued that Clay secured the new type face and the kernless letters together, and only added the question mark in forming the special mixture. Thus, the combination is reduced from three to two units, and the possibility of duplication elsewhere is materially increased. However, the extraordinary character of that question mark 3 is such that the combination must still be regarded as unique; furthermore, as we shall now see, there exists an undeniable forgery in which the hybrid font is employed, and which could not possibly have been printed anywhere but at the Clay office.

A "proof-sheet" copy, dated 1886, was sold at Hodgson's, November 30, 1932, to

Quaritch. Bound with a copy of the published book, it brought £10.

The Huntington Library copy of *Lucretius* is not so bound, however; it is in a plain, buff paper wrapper. (See below, p. 114.)

² Carter and Pollard, op. cit., pp. 50 (n. 1), 118.

and bearing the date 1886. It would appear that Mr. W. Webber, a bookseller of Ipswich, who then owned the Manuscript, had at first contemplated issuing the book through Messrs. Reeves & Turner. But at this juncture he entered into the employment of Messrs. Jarrold & Sons, and consequently the book was finally brought out by that firm. The types were not reset, but were kept standing during the interval."

On at least two occasions, sales are recorded of an apparently undated issue, which may have been wrongly catalogued.

³ See footnote, by Beatrice Warde, on pp. 127-28 of The Library, XVI (Sept., 1935).

It was through their investigation of the types used in Mr. Thomas J. Wise's "type-facsimile reprint" of Matthew Arnold's Alaric at Rome, printed in 1893 by Richard Clay and Sons, that Messrs. Carter and Pollard identified the owners of the unique font. Copies of both this reprint and a supposed original (which bears the date 1840) are in the Huntington Library. Comparison of them has led to an important discovery: there is no doubt that, although the imprint dates of the two books separate them by fifty-three years, they were printed from the same setting of type. The kernless "f" and "j" and the special question mark are all present, and certain damaged types appear in the same places in each. To be sure, there are differences, but these only show that the "original" is not simply a copy of Mr. Wise's reprint from which the prefatory matter and the Clay colophon have been removed. For example, signature mark A 2 occurs in the "original" but not in the reprint; the reprint is printed on a white wove paper watermarked "J. Whatman 1889," while the "original" is printed on a yellowed wove paper of another kind and without any watermark; the gatherings differ, and leaves that are conjugate in the "original" are not so in the reprint, although there is, of course, the possibility that the binder of the Huntington Library "original" may have separated the leaves and rejoined them in such a way as to make a single gathering of six.

From the only example at hand, it cannot be inferred that all copies of the "original" are forgeries, especially in view of the fact that the existence of an 1840 Alaric at Rome was made known by Edmund Gosse in April, 1888 3— five years before the date of the reprint. This was the only copy of which there was any account until 1892, when Arnold's bibliographer, Mr. T. B. Smart, 4 reported another, belonging to Mr. Wise, from which, ostensibly, the reprint was made in the following year. But the book, then so scarce, has steadily increased in numbers. At the end of the first fifty years of its existence, only two copies were known; thirty years later, in 1922, Mr. Wise knew of ten

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<sup>1</sup> Carter and Pollard, op. cit., pp. 63-66.
<sup>2</sup> For example: stanza iii, l. 4, the "s" in "Things";

" v, l. 5, the "f" in "brief";

" xvi, l. 6, the "o" in "from";

" xxxv, l. 6, the "d" in "should"; etc.
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See, also, the plate accompanying this article.

4 Carter and Pollard, op. cit., p. 129.

³ The Athenaeum, No. 3156, pp. 500-501 (Apr. 21, 1888).

ALARIC AT ROME.

"Admire, exult, despise, laugh, weep, for here

"There is such matter for all feeling."

Childe Harold

ALARIC AT ROME.

- "Admire, exult, despise, laugh, weep, for here
- "There is such matter for all feeling."

Childe Harold.

Enlarged photograph showing the dropped title of the Huntington Library copies of the "1840" Alaric at Rome (above) and the 1893 "type-facsimile reprint." In the quotation, the upper serif is missing from letter "d" in "despise" and "Harold" in both copies, indicating that they were printed from the same setting of type. In the reprint, letters "h" in "such" and "f" in "feeling" are damaged. This is evidence, though slight, that, of the two copies, the "original" was the first printed. The difference in paper is also brought out in the photograph.



copies, and since that time five sales have been recorded in America alone, at prices ranging from \$300 to \$850.

If the books owned by Gosse and Wise were genuine, some of the recently sold copies may also be genuine, but, since a forgery exists, there is a good chance that at least some of them are impostors.

Mr. Halsey purchased in 1897 the forgery that is now in the Huntington Library — already bound, in a style hardly befitting an avowed reprint 3 — for \$400. In the same year, he secured a copy of Smart's Bibliography of Matthew Arnold (1892), also now in the Huntington Library. This he annotated, and by his notes we are informed of his beliefs regarding the book.

The first item in the *Bibliography* is the 1840 *Alaric at Rome*, under which is this printed note: "The only copy of this pamphlet known to exist is in the possession of Mr. Edmund W. Gosse. . . ." Referring to this note, Mr. Halsey has written in the margin: "The only other copy known was bought by me, in New York Dec! 1897—F. R. H."

At the end of the book (page [77], the Addenda) is the following printed note: "Alaric at Rome. (See p. 1.) Since the first sheet of this Bibliography was printed off another copy of Alaric at Rome has come to light. It is now in the hands of Mr. Thomas J. Wise. From the above copy a type fac-simile reprint is being prepared. . . ." Beneath this note Mr. Halsey has written: "This copy passed into the possession of FRH (see pencil note, p. 1)."

The authors of the *Enquiry* have not claimed that their list of the books involved in the hoax is complete: indeed, the survey made at the Huntington Library indicates that it is not. The extent of the hoax and the determination of the unresolved cases of "suspicious" books are matters of obvious interest and importance to librarians and collectors. Possibly, similar surveys of other collections will bring to light further evidence that will be of value to Messrs. Carter and Pollard in completing their brilliant and significant investigation.

T. J. Wise, The Ashley Library . . . (London, 1922), I, 8-9.

² Mr. Graham Pollard, in private correspondence, notes that he has been unable to locate a copy of the forgery in England. It may be that it was prepared exclusively for the American market; if so, it would seem to have much in common with the "Reading" Sonnets, of which only two copies remained in England at the time the Enquiry was published. In any case, the evidence contained in the Huntington Library copy is not invalidated.

³ This binding closely resembles the one reproduced as the frontispiece of the 1893 reprint.

Appendix

HUNTINGTON LIBRARY COPIES OF BOOKS QUESTIONED BY CARTER AND POLLARD

OF THE fifty-five titles, fifty-four are in the Huntington Library. Thirty-two of these were secured by Mr. Huntington in his *en bloc* purchase, in 1915, of Mr. Frederic Robert Halsey's library. Mr. Halsey, an American collector, had assembled, among other books, a large group of first editions of the Victorian era, and it is natural that he should have acquired many of the questioned items.

Because Mr. Halsey bought his copies about the supposed time of fabrication, the following list notes the prices he paid and the condition of the books, as regards binding, when purchased. In the descriptions below, titles and imprints are given in full, but authors' names are omitted except where there are differences from the titles

as given by Carter and Pollard.

MATTHEW ARNOLD

I Geist's Grave/.../ London/ Printed only for a few Friends/

Condition: Unbound; stitched; in original lavender-gray,

printed wrappers. A signed autograph letter of the author, dated Jan. 19, 1886, is tipped-in at the front. This letter has no reference to the pamphlet.

Provenance: Halsey collection. From Dodd, Mead & Co., New

York, in May, 1896, for \$35.

Status: Highly suspicious; negative evidence. Carter-Pol-

lard, pp. 69, 92, 163-64.

2 Saint Brandan./.../London:/E. W. & A. Skipwith./ 1867.

Condition: Unbound; stitched in original brown, printed wrappers; untrimmed. A signed autograph letter of the author, dated Oct. 31, 1884, is tipped-in at the front. It has no reference to the pamphlet.

Provenance: Halsey collection. From Dodd, Mead & Co., in May, 1896, for \$18.

Highly suspicious; negative evidence. Carter-Pol-Status:

lard, pp. 81, 161-62.

Messrs. Carter and Pollard were unable to find any record of the publishers, "E. W. & A. Skipworth," or the printer, J. S. Seaton and Co. The form of the publishers' name in the present pamphlet is "Skipwith," which agrees with the references given in the Ashley and Wrenn catalogues.

ELIZABETH BARRETT BROWNING

The/ Runaway Slave/ at Pilgrim's Point./ . . . / [vignette]/ London:/ Edward Moxon, Dover Street./ 1849.

> Unbound; unstitched; untrimmed; in original light-Condition:

buff, printed wrappers.

Provenance: Halsey collection. From E. A. Denham, New York,

Mar. 8, 1900, for \$30.

Forgery; paper test. Carter-Pollard, pp. 130-31, Status:

169-71.

4 Sonnets./ ... / Reading:/ [Not for publication.]/ [rule]/ 1847.

Brown morocco, gilt, by Zaehnsdorf; untrimmed. Condition: On the front flyleaf, in an unidentified hand, is written: "II copies only known." Contains a

dealer's code mark: "425-

Provenance: Halsey collection. From Dodd, Mead & Co.,

Apr. 27, 1899, \$325, already bound.

Forgery; type and paper tests, and considerable Status:

negative evidence. Carter-Pollard, pp. 8-37, 167-

68, etc.

ROBERT BROWNING

5 Cleon./.../ London: / Edward Moxon, Dover Street./ 1855.

Condition: Green morocco, by Riviere & Son; untrimmed. Provenance: Halsey collection. From F. T. Sabin, London,

Nov., 1897, for £12 12s., already bound.

Status: Forgery; paper and type tests. Carter-Pollard,

pp. 79, 177–78.

6 Gold Hair:/ a Legend of Pornic./ . . ./ 1864.

Condition: Unbound; unstitched; untrimmed.

Provenance: Halsey collection. From F. T. Sabin, July, 1897,

for 12s.

Status: Considerable suspicion; negative evidence. Carter-

Pollard, pp. 92, 181–82.

7 The/ Statue and the Bust./.../London:/ Edward Moxon, Dover Street./ 1855.

Condition: Red morocco, by Zaehnsdorf; untrimmed.

Provenance: Halsey collection. From E. A. Denham, New York

(Alexander Denham & Co., London), Mar. 11, 1898,

for \$52, already bound.

Status: Forgery; paper and type tests. Carter-Pollard,

pp. 179-80.

CHARLES DICKENS

8 To be read/ at/ Dusk./ . . . / [rule]/ London:/ [rule]/ 1852.

Condition: Red morocco, gilt, by Riviere & Son; untrimmed. Provenance: Church collection, purchased *en bloc* by Mr. Hunt-

ington, Apr., 1911.

Status: Forgery; paper evidence. Carter-Pollard, pp. 185-87.

GEORGE ELIOT

9 Agatha./.../ London:/ Trübner & Co., 60, Paternoster Row./ 1869./ [All Rights reserved.]

Condition: Brown morocco, signed "Bound by Zaehnsdorf 1896"; untrimmed. A signed autograph letter of the author, dated "Mar. 24. 75," is inserted on a

stub. It has no reference to the book.

Provenance: Halsey collection. From George D. Smith, New

York, Jan. 22, 1898, for \$70.

Status: Three editions exist, all bearing the date 1869. This

variety is highly suspicious; negative evidence.

Carter-Pollard, pp. 92, 194-97.

Another copy:

Condition: Red morocco, by Maclehose, Glasgow; untrimmed.

Provenance: Undetermined. The Thomas Glen Arthur copy,

with ex libris.

Brother and Sister/Sonnets/.../London/For Private Circulation Only/ 1869

Condition: Unbound; stitched; in original blue, printed wrap-

pers; untrimmed.

Provenance: Halsey collection. From E. A. Denham, New York

(Alexander Denham & Co., London), Apr., 1898,

for \$22.50.

Status: Forgery; type test. Carter-Pollard, pp. 191–93.

RUDYARD KIPLING

White Horses/.../ London/ Printed for Private Circulation/

Condition: Unbound; stitched in original lilac, printed wrap-

pers. Contains two dealers' code marks: "eoeo"

and "maxa

Provenance: From Walter M. Hill, Chicago, Mar., 1919.

Status: Piracy, but probably correctly dated, and therefore

the first separate edition. Carter-Pollard, pp. 91,

201-2.

The/ White Man's Burden/.../ London/ Printed for Private Circulation/ 1899

Condition: Unbound; stitched in original lilac, printed wrap-

pers. Contains the same dealers' code marks as

White Horses.

Provenance: From Walter M. Hill, Mar., 1919.

Status: Piracy, and antedated by the New York edition of

the same year. Carter-Pollard, pp. 91, 203-4.

The Carter-Pollard collation indicates that the title of this work is broken into three parts: *The/White Man's/Burden*. In the present copy the title is in two lines, as given above.

WILLIAM MORRIS

13 Sir Galahad/ a Christmas Mystery./.../ London:/ Bell and Daldy, 186, Fleet Street./ 1858.

Condition: Green morocco, by Riviere & Son; untrimmed.

Contains a dealer's code mark: "V A.-

Provenance: Halsey collection. From Dodd, Mead & Co., Jan.,

1900, for \$30, already bound.

Status: Forgery; paper test. Carter-Pollard, pp. 137-38,

209-10.

The Two Sides of/ the River/ Hapless Love/ and/ the First Foray of/ Aristomenes/ . . . / London/ 1876/ [Not for Sale]

Condition: Brown morocco, by Riviere & Son. The original green, printed wrappers are bound-in. Contains a

dealer's code mark, "ug-gx."

Provenance: The John Howard Taylor collection. Purchased in the sale of his library, at The Anderson Galleries,

Jan. 16-17, 1913, Pt. II, lot 542.

Status: "...its provenance in quantity and its auction record are by no means reassuring." Carter-Pollard,

pp. 211-12.

DANTE GABRIEL ROSSETTI

15 Sister Helen;/ a ballad/ . . . / Oxford:/ Printed for Private Circulation./ 1857.

Condition: Unbound; untrimmed. Contains a dealer's code

mark, "eoeo."

Provenance: The Brayton Ives collection. Purchased in the sale of his library, at the American Art Association.

Apr. 6-9, 1915, lot 823, where it is catalogued as the

Louis M. Dillman copy.

Status: Forgery; paper test. Carter-Pollard, pp. 215-17.

16 Verses/ ... / London: Privately Printed:/ 1881.

Condition: Green morocco, by Riviere & Son; untrimmed.

Contains a dealer's code mark, "ti gx."

Provenance: The H. W. Poor collection. Purchased in the sale of

his library, at The Anderson Auction Company,

Nov. 17-19, 1908, Pt. I, lot 934.

Status: At best a piracy, and strongly suspected of being a

forgery. Carter-Pollard, pp. 91, 218-21.

JOHN RUSKIN

"The Future of England;" A Paper Read at the R. A. Institution, By John Ruskin, L.L.D. 14th December, 1869. [No title-page: title given from heading on page 1 of the text]

Condition: Unbound; unstitched; untrimmed; wrappers lack-

ing.

Provenance: Halsey collection. From a miscellaneous auction at

Sotheby's, May 12-15, 1897, for £1 18s.

Status: Forgery; paper and type tests. Carter-Pollard,

pp. 238–39.

The title differs in punctuation from that of the transcription given in the *Enquiry*.

18 Leoni; A Legend of Italy. / . . . / London: / 1868.

Condition: Unbound; stitched in original blue-gray, printed

wrappers; untrimmed.

Provenance: Halsey collection. From F. T. Sabin, Aug., 1897,

for £6 6s.

Status: Forgery; paper test. Carter-Pollard, pp. 236-37.

The National Gallery./ Two Letters/ to the Editor of/ The Times./ By/ The Author of "Modern Painters."/ London:/ 1852.

Condition: Unbound; stitched; untrimmed.

Provenance: Halsey collection. From a "miscellaneous" auction

at Bangs & Co., New York, Mar. 31-Apr. 1, 1898, for \$12.50. This is apparently the copy noted by Carter and Pollard as the first to appear in the

auction room.

Status: Forgery; text, paper, and type tests. Carter-

Pollard, pp. 227–29.

On p. 228 of the *Enquiry* is given a table of collation of the texts as occurring in the *Times* for Jan. 7, 1847, *Arrows of the Chace* (1880), and the present edition. The concluding part of the third quotation should read, in each case: "in the course of the last five or six years."

20 The Nature and Authority/ of/ Miracle/.../ 1873./ (For private distribution.)

Condition: Unbound; stitched; untrimmed.

Provenance: Halsey collection. From E. A. Denham, Dec., 1899,

for \$15.

Status: "A deal of suspicion." Carter-Pollard, pp. 242-43.

The/ Queen's Gardens/ a Lecture/ delivered at the Town Hall, Manchester, On Wednesday, December 14, 1864/.../ Manchester:/ Printed in Aid of the St. Andrews Schools Fund/ 1864/ Price One Shilling

Condition: Unbound; unstitched; untrimmed.

Provenance: Halsey collection. From E. A. Denham, New York

(Alexander Denham & Co., London), Mar. 28, 1898,

for \$44.

Status: Forgery; type and text tests. Carter-Pollard,

pp. 232-35.

22 Samuel Prout./ . . . / Oxford:/ Printed for Private Circulation Only./ MDCCCLXX

Condition: Unbound; stitched in the original blue, printed

wrappers; untrimmed.

Provenance: From a "miscellaneous" auction at The Anderson

Galleries, Jan. 18, 1922, lot 209.

Status: "Suspect." Carter-Pollard, pp. 240-41.

23 The Scythian Guest; A Poem. / . . . / MDCCCXLIX / (Printed for the Author.)

Condition: Brown morocco, gilt, by Zaehnsdorf; untrimmed.

Lacks brown-paper wrappers.

Provenance: From Maggs Bros., Mar. 16, 1927, Catalogue 487,

item 1876.

Status: Forgery; paper test. Carter-Pollard, pp. 225-26.

ROBERT LOUIS STEVENSON

On the/ Thermal Influence of Forests./.../ Edinburgh:/
Printed by Neill and Company./ MDCCCLXXIII.

Condition: Unbound; stitched; in original blue, printed wrap-

pers; untrimmed.

Provenance: Halsey collection. From E. A. Denham, Apr., 1901,

for \$40.

Status: Forgery; type and paper tests. Carter-Pollard,

pp. 247-51.

25 Some College Memories/.../[vignette]/ Edinburgh:/ Printed for Members of the/ University Union Committee/ 1886

Condition: Unbound; stitched; in original gray, printed wrap-

pers; untrimmed.

Provenance: The Jacob Klein collection. Purchased in the sale

of his library, at The Anderson Auction Company, Feb. 15–16, 1911, lot 1688. Inserted is a slip indicating that this copy came from E. D. Brooks.

Status: "Pirated reprint." Carter-Pollard, pp. 254-64.

The Story of a Lie./.../ London:/ Hayley & Jackson, Little Oueen St., W.C./ 1882.

Condition: Unbound; unstitched; uncut and unopened. Laid

in is a letter signed by Denham, dated June 7, 1899,

offering the copy to Mr. Halsey.

Provenance: Halsey collection. From E. A. Denham, June,

1899, for \$206.

Status: "Extremely suspicious." Carter-Pollard, pp. 91,

251-53.

27 Thomas Stevenson/ Civil Engineer/.../ 1887/ Printed for Private Distribution

Condition: Unbound; stitched; in the original blue, printed

wrappers.

Provenance: Halsey collection. From E. A. Denham, Nov., 1899,

for \$35.

Status: Suspicious. Carter-Pollard, pp. 265, 379.

28 War in Samoa./.../ London: Reprinted from *The Pall Mall Gazette*./ September, 1893.

Condition: Unbound; stitched; in the original red, printed

wrappers.

Provenance: Halsey collection. From E. A. Denham, May 27,

1898, for \$15.

Status: "Probably a piracy." Carter-Pollard, p. 266.

ALGERNON CHARLES SWINBURNE

29 An Appeal/ to/ England/ against the Execution of the/ Condemned Fenians./.../ Manchester:/ Reprinted from the "Morning Star."/ 1867.

Condition: Unbound; stitched in the original blue-gray, printed

wrappers; uncut and unopened.

Provenance: Halsey collection. From G. D. Smith, Jan. 22, 1898,

for \$15.

Status: "Very serious doubt." Carter-Pollard, p. 292.

30 Cleopatra./.../ London:/ John Camden Hotten, Piccadilly./ 1866.

Condition: Unbound; stitched; in original pale-buff wrappers;

untrimmed.

Provenance: Halsey collection. From the sale of the John Ken-

drick Bangs library, Merwin-Clayton Sales Co.,

New York, Nov. 27-28, 1905, for \$41.

Status: Highly suspicious. Carter-Pollard, pp. 91-92,

278-84.

Dead Love. / . . . / London / John W. Parker and Son, West 31 Strand./ 1864.

Condition: Unbound: stitched: uncut and unopened.

Provenance: Halsey collection. From F. T. Sabin, Aug., 1897,

for £5 10s.

Forgery; fictitious imprint. Carter-Pollard, pp. 80-Status:

81, 91, 269-71.

Dolores./.../ London:/ John Camden Hotten, Piccadilly./ 32 1867.

Blue morocco, by Riviere & Son; untrimmed. Con-Condition:

tains a dealer's code mark, "bigx." Below this is written " $60^{\circ\circ}$ " (altered from " $65^{\circ\circ}$ ").

Provenance: The H. W. Poor collection. Purchased in the sale of his library, at The Anderson Auction Company,

Apr. 5-7, 1909, Pt. V, lot 1033.

Forgery; type test. Carter-Pollard, pp. 285-86. Status:

Laus Veneris./ . . . / London:/ Edward Moxon & Co., Dover 33 Street./ 1866.

Condition: Unbound; unstitched; untrimmed.

Provenance: Halsey collection. From G. D. Smith, Nov., 1897,

for \$150.

Highly suspicious. Carter-Pollard, pp. 91-92, Status:

272-77.

Siena./.../London:/ John Camden Hotten, Piccadilly/ 1868./ 34 (All Rights Reserved.)

Green morocco, by Zaehnsdorf, 1896. The original Condition:

orange wrappers are preserved. Contains a dealer's code mark, "thgx." Below this, in another hand, is

written, "2750."

Provenance: The H. W. Poor collection. Purchased in the sale of

his library, at The Anderson Auction Company,

Apr. 5-7, 1909, Pt. V, lot 1035.

Forgery; type test. Carter-Pollard, pp. 287-89. Status:

There is also a copy of the genuine edition in the Huntington Library.

ALFRED, LORD TENNYSON

35 Carmen Saeculare/ an Ode/.../ London/ Printed for Private Distribution/ 1887

Condition: Unbound; stitched in the original cream, printed

wrappers. Contains a dealer's code mark,

"V]L.ZX."

Provenance: Halsey collection. From the sale of the A. J. Mor-

gan library, Bangs & Co., Apr. 1-2, 1902, for \$155.

Status: Highly suspicious. Carter-Pollard, pp. 91-92,

336-39.

Also in the Huntington Library is a copy of the author's corrected proof of this poem as it appeared in *Macmillan's Magazine*, April, 1887.

36 Child-Songs/.../London/C. Kegan Paul & Co., 1 Paternoster Square/ 1880

Condition: Unbound; stitched; untrimmed. Laid in is a copy

in the author's autograph of the second poem,

"Minnie and Winnie."

Provenance: The E. K. Butler collection. Purchased in the sale

of his library, at the American Art Association,

Apr. 10, 1922, lot 199.

Status: Forgery; type test. Carter-Pollard, pp. 379-80.

37 The Cup/ London: Printed for the Author; 1881

Condition: Green morocco, gilt, by Riviere & Son. Contains a

dealer's code mark, "csi.cs."

Provenance: Halsey collection. From the sale of the A. J. Mor-

gan library, Bangs & Co., Apr. 1-2, 1902, for \$340,

already bound.

Status: Forgery; text test. Carter-Pollard, pp. 91, 327-31.

38 The Death/ of the/ Duke of Clarence and Avondale./... [Caption title, undated]

Condition: Unbound; 2 leaves, folded. Contains a dealer's code

mark, "N[.XZ."

Provenance: The É. K. Butler collection. Purchased in the sale

of his library, at the American Art Association,

Apr. 10, 1922, lot 208.

Status: "Distinctly dubious." Carter-Pollard, p. 343.

39 England and America/ in 1782./ . . . / Strahan & Co./ 56, Ludgate Hill, London./ 1872.

Condition: Unbound; stitched.

Provenance: The E. K. Butler collection. Purchased in the sale

of his library, at the American Art Association,

Apr. 10, 1922, lot 194.

Status: Suspicious. Carter-Pollard, p. 379.

40 The Falcon/ London: Printed for the Author: 1879.

Condition: Unbound; stitched; in plain, pale-brown paper

wrappers; untrimmed.

Provenance: Halsey collection. From the auction of the library

of Wm. H. Arnold, at Bangs & Co., May 7-8, 1901,

for \$410.

Status: Highly suspicious. Carter-Pollard, pp. 91-92,

323-26.

The/Last Tournament/.../Strahan & Co./ 56, Ludgate Hill, London/ 1871/ [All rights reserved.]

Condition: Brown morocco, gilt, by Riviere & Son; untrimmed. Provenance: Halsey collection. From F. T. Sabin, Nov. 24, 1897,

for £49, already bound.

Status: Forgery; paper, type, and text tests. Carter-

Pollard, pp. 315–19.

The Lover's Tale/.../ With a Monograph/ By the Author of "Tennysoniana."/ London/ Fifty Copies printed for Private Circulation/ M.D.CCC.LXX.

Condition: Unbound; stitched; uncut and unopened.

Provenance: The H. Buxton Forman collection. Purchased in

the sale of his library, at The Anderson Galleries,

Mar. 15-17, 1920, lot 862.

Status: Forgery; paper and type tests. Carter-Pollard,

pp. 307-14.

43 Lucretius/.../ Cambridge, Mass./ Printed for Private Circulation/ 1868

Condition: Unbound; stitched; in plain, buff paper wrappers;

untrimmed.

Provenance: Halsey collection. From F. T. Sabin, Aug., 1897,

for £7 10s.

Status: Forgery; paper and type tests. Carter-Pollard,

pp. 305-6.

Morte d'Arthur;/ Dora;/ and other Idyls./.../ London:/ Edward Moxon, Dover Street./ MDCCCXLII.

Condition: Green morocco, gilt, by Riviere & Son; untrimmed. Provenance: Halsey collection. From the sale of the A. J. Mor-

gan library, Bangs & Co., Apr. 1-2, 1902, for \$490,

already bound.

Status: Forgery; paper and type tests. Carter-Pollard,

pp. 295-97.

Ode/ for the Opening of/ the International Exhibition./.../ London:/ Edward Moxon & Co., Dover Street./ 1862.

Condition: Dark-blue morocco, gilt, by Riviere & Son; un-

trimmed.

Provenance: The E. K. Butler collection. Purchased in the sale

of his library, at the American Art Association,

Apr. 10, 1922, lot 191.

Status: Forgery; paper, type, and text tests. Carter-

Pollard, pp. 300-304.

It should be noticed that this copy has a three-line imprint, whereas the copy described by Carter and Pollard apparently has a four-line imprint. There seems to be no other difference.

Ode on the Opening of the Colonial and Indian Exhibition ... / [rule] / Tuesday, 4th May, 1886 / [rule] / London: William Clowes and Sons, Limited / Official Printers and Publishers to the Royal Commission

Condition: Unbound; 2 leaves, folded. Contains a dealer's code mark, "seoo."

Provenance: The E. K. Butler collection. Purchased in the sale

of his library, at the American Art Association,

Apr. 10, 1922, lot 202.

Status: Suspicious. Carter-Pollard, pp. 68, 70, 342.

47 The/ Promise of May/ London: Printed for the Author: 1882

Condition: Unbound; stitched; in plain, light-brown paper

wrappers; untrimmed.

Provenance: Halsey collection. From the auction of the library

of Wm. H. Arnold, at Bangs & Co., May 7-8, 1901,

for \$430.

Status: Highly suspicious. Carter-Pollard, pp. 91-92,

332-35.

The Sailor Boy./.../[vignette]/ London:/ Emily Faithfull & Co., Victoria Press./ 1861.

Condition: Unbound; stitched; in original printed paper wrap-

pers; untrimmed.

Provenance: Halsey collection. From the sale of the John Ken-

drick Bangs library, at the Merwin-Clayton Sales

Co., Nov. 27-28, 1905, for \$190.

Status: Forgery; paper test. Carter-Pollard, pp. 75-76,

298-99.

49 To H.R.H. Princess Beatrice. [Caption title]

Condition: Unbound; 2 leaves, folded; 87 by 117 inches; on

wove paper, without gilt edges. The so-called

second issue.

Provenance: The W. T. Wallace collection. Purchased in the

sale of his library, at the American Art Association,

May 22-25, 1920, lot 1308.

Status: Unclassified. Carter and Pollard (p. 342) had not

seen a copy at the time of publication of the En-

quiry.

50 A/ Welcome/ to/ Her Royal Highness Marie Alexandrovna,/
Duchess of Edinburgh./ by/ Alfred Tennyson,/ Poet Laureate./
Henry S. King & Co., London./ 1874.

Condition: Red morocco, signed "Bound by Riviere & Son for

T. J. Wise"; untrimmed. With Mr. Wise's book-

plate.

Provenance: The Wm. H. Arnold collection. Purchased in the

sale of his library, at The Anderson Galleries,

Nov. 10–11, 1924, lot 936.

Status: Highly suspicious. Carter-Pollard, pp. 91-92, 320-

In their transcription of the title, Carter and Pollard (p. 320) include the words "Alfred Tennyson, Poet Laureate" in the same line.

This is not as they occur in the present copy.

A copy of Carter and Pollard's form (4), with the misprint "Alexandrowna," is also in the Huntington Library. For various reasons, this seems to be in reality an earlier state of form (3).

WILLIAM MAKEPEACE THACKERAY

An Interesting Event./ by/ M. A. Titmarsh./ London:/ David Bogue, 86 Fleet Street;/ [rule]/ 1849.

Condition: Red morocco, by Zaehnsdorf, 1902; untrimmed. Provenance: Halsey collection. From a "miscellaneous" auction

at Bangs & Co., Nov. 20-21, 1902, for \$80, already

bound.

Status: Forgery; paper and type tests. Carter-Pollard, pp. 58 (n. 3), 347-49.

52 A/ Leaf out of a/ Sketch-Book./ By/ William Makepeace Thackeray./ [vignette]/ London:/ Emily Faithfull & Co., Victoria Press./ 1861.

Condition: Unbound; stitched; in original printed paper wrap-

pers.

Provenance: Church collection, purchased en bloc by Mr. Hunt-

ington in Apr., 1911.

Status: Forgery; paper test. Carter-Pollard, pp. 75-76,

350-52.

In this copy, the words "By/William Makepeace Thackeray" are divided into two lines; Carter and Pollard (p. 350) include them on one line.

WILLIAM WORDSWORTH

To/ the Queen:/ Dedicatory Verses addressed/ to Her Majesty with the/ Author's Poems/.../ Printed for the Author/ By R. Branthwaite and Son,/ Kendal, 1846.

Condition: Unbound; unstitched; untrimmed.

Provenance: H. Buxton Forman collection. Purchased in the

sale of his library, at The Anderson Galleries,

Mar. 15-17, 1920, lot 991.

Status: Forgery; type test. Carter-Pollard, pp. 355-56.

EDMUND YATES

Mr. Thackeray, Mr. Yates,/ and/ the Garrick Club./ The/ Correspondence and Facts./.../ Printed for Private Circulation./ 1859.

Condition: Unbound; stitched. Provenance: Not determined.

Status: Forgery; paper and type tests. Carter-Pollard,

pp. 359-60.

A copy of the genuine edition is also in the Huntington Library.



LETTERS FROM JAMES BRYDGES, CREATED DUKE OF CHANDOS, TO HENRY ST. JOHN, CREATED VISCOUNT BOLINGBROKE

THESE letters from James Brydges to Henry St. John extend from 1707 to 1730. Many important events in the history of England happened in the course of this period, and both the writer and the recipient of the letters were concerned with not a few of them.

Brydges was Paymaster General to the Forces (1705 2 to 1713) during most of the War of the Spanish Succession. His tenure of this office must have been exciting. His important administrative post brought him into contact with the allied commander in the field, the Duke of Marlborough, and more intimately with subordinate officers. The necessity of paying English soldiers, or foreign troops in English pay, in the Netherlands and in the Iberian Peninsula, involved him in close relations with financiers in western Europe. Several times it seemed as if he would be dismissed from office. During the Whig administration he heard a rumor that he was to be displaced, and wrote to Godolphin, the Lord Treasurer, that to be turned out would be like having a pillow pulled away from under one who is just expiring naturally.3 Again, danger of a rather different kind threatened when the Tories succeeded the Whigs in power in 1710, for they were bent upon investigating the conduct of the war. In reply to a letter from his brother-in-law, Theophilus Leigh, who had opined that Parliament could not hurt him provided his accounts were in order, he said 4 that he was very inclined to resign his office if he could secure himself from the storms that were gathering. Nevertheless,

² Narcissus Luttrell, A Brief Historical Relation (Oxford, 1857), V, 536. ³ Letter of Dec. 19 or 20, 1709. (Stowe MSS 57 [in Huntington Library], II, 147.)

4 Nov. 6, 1710. (Ibid., IV, 200-202.)

Letters of St. John to Brydges, from 1706 to 1712, were printed in The Huntington Library Bulletin, No. 8.

ye great advantage of continuing in to ye end of war, & have ye winding up by that means of a bottom, that cannot fail of bringing one a vast fortune, strangely tempts me to stand it; in short without resolving, I am apt to think my best course will be to let things take their own turn, & follow them just as they have a mind to lead me, submitting myself to Providence, & hoping that as it has hitherto shown a particular care for me, it will continue so.

His forebodings in anticipating that he would be attacked were justified; but St. John's defense prevented the Tories from formally censuring his administration. Swift writes that

t'other day in Parliament, upon a debate of about thirty-five millions that have not been duly accounted for, Mr Secretary, in his warmth of speech, and zeal for his friend Mr Brydges, on whom part of the blame was falling, said, he did not know that either Mr Brydges or the late ministry were at all to blame in this matter.¹

Apparently St. John's defense was successful, inasmuch as the accounts of the Paymaster were not singled out for attack by the Commons in an address designed to discredit the Whigs for their financial mismanagement of the war.² A famous historian has written that "St. John, in defending Brydges, was following the dictates of private friendship." This is no doubt true, but these letters show that St. John had an even more powerful motive — namely, that he himself had had financial relations with the Paymaster that would not stand investigation. After Brydges quitted his lucrative office, he devoted himself to building, and erected the palatial residence, "Cannons," near Edgware. He trafficked freely in stocks and shares, and became heavily involved in the financial crash that followed the wild speculation of 1720. He was created Duke of Chandos in 1719 and lived to enjoy his new dignity for a quarter of a century.

St. John was Secretary at War from 1704 to 1708, when Godolphin and the Whig leaders dismissed the moderate Tories from their administration. After the swing of the pendulum in 1710, he received the seals of a Secretary of State in the new Tory cabinet, retained this

¹ Swift's Journal to Stella, in Prose Works, ed. Temple Scott, II (London, 1897), 164.
² May 31, 1711. (Commons' Journals, XVI, 683-85.)

³ George Macaulay Trevelyan, England under Queen Anne (London), III (1934), 108.

office until Queen Anne's death, and was created Viscount Bolingbroke in 1712. The main achievement of the Tories was the Treaty of Utrecht, which closed the war. During the peace negotiations, Bolingbroke was guilty of grave discourtesy, even disloyalty, to the allies who had fought with England. Moreover, it was suspected that he was anxious to bring about the restoration of the exiled Stuarts and that he was plotting to that end. At least, it is certain that, during the last months of the reign, he was making desperate efforts to oust the Earl of Oxford (Robert Harley) from the Lord Treasurership, but did not succeed until July 27, 1714. Before he had time to mature his plans, the Queen died. He wrote to Dean Swift: "The Earl of Oxford was removed on Tuesday; the Queen died on Sunday. What a world is this, and how does fortune banter us!" In a postscript to the same letter, he said, "I have lost all by the death of the Queen, but my spirit." Half of this statement was correct, for he was removed from office early in the reign of George I, who gave his confidence to the Whigs. When it became clear that they intended to impeach him for his share in the Treaty of Utrecht and his measures in favor of the Jacobites, he fled to France and became Secretary of State to the titular James III (the son of James II), during the critical time of the Jacobite insurrection known as "the '15." In less than a year he was dismissed, and his disgust at the Pretender's subservience to his priests is said to have found vent in an exclamation that he wished his arm would rot off if he ever again drew his sword or employed his pen in the Jacobite service. He remained abroad some time and, after the death of his first wife, married a Mme de Villette. He was pardoned by George I, in 1723, and allowed to return to England, but not to take his seat in the House of Lords. The Whig leader, Walpole, was thought to be responsible for this exclusion. Bolingbroke, therefore, could find his revenge, as well as promote the interests of his party, in attacks on Walpole in the Craftsman and other periodicals or pamphlets. He survived until 1751.

In order to complete the correspondence, six letters to Lady Boling-

broke are appended.

The letters to Bolingbroke are of value primarily for the informa-

^{*} The Correspondence of Jonathan Swift, ed. F. Elrington Ball (London), II (1911), 214.

tion they supply about that brilliant and erratic statesman. They are more helpful as an aid to a correct appreciation of his character than as a source of biographical data that are both vital and new. Perhaps the one fresh fact of great interest is the revelation of the motive for his defense of Brydges and the financial conduct of the war, which so puzzled his fellow Tories. Incidentally, the reluctance of the Queen to replace Oxford as Lord Treasurer by Bolingbroke receives ample

justification here.

In addition to the illustrations of Bolingbroke's personal qualities, there is much that reveals the prevalent low standard of public morality. It is obvious that Brydges amassed so large a fortune out of the perquisites of his office as Paymaster that he could drop £500,000 by speculation without being ruined. How far the gratuities he seems to have expected were usual or exceptional, whether they were merely extralegal or downright illegal, are questions well worth studying, for the whole finance of the war appears to have been run on a system of perquisites. In spite of his laxity as Paymaster, Brydges emerges as rather an attractive figure, anxious to do a friend a good turn and steadfastly loyal to his relative and benefactor, Bolingbroke.

Finally, the letters have the value that always attaches to a correspondence of this kind — they show what public events were engaging the most attention, how the ministerial policies appeared to contem-

poraries, and what political gossip was most rife.

G. D. M. T.

Aug: 11: 1707

Mr St John Dear St

About 10 days ago I wrote to you & sent it to M! Sloper, who I hope he deliver'd to you, my giving you this trouble is to desire you favour in the behalf of an old Schoolfellow & Friend of mine Cap! Hanway, he seems with a good deal of reason to complain of an hardship that hath been done him by his Colle in his getting him remov'd out of an old Corps into a new one (thô in no better a post than he had before) after severall yeares service spent in action & wth as good a Character as any Gent. could desire, all that I can unde[r]stand he would at present obtain, is, that the first Vacancy that happens of a Cap!s Commission in the Regm! he was in before might be bestow'd upon him, wth I think is but just in it self, & if you'l please to favour him in it, he need not fear his success. Yo! Kindness in this matter will lay a very great obligation upon him who is

Jun: 11: 1709

To m. S. John Dear S.

I return you my humble thanks for yo! Favour of y! 5th Ins! 3 & according to your commands tooke care to forward y! enclosed, I am infinitely obliged to you for y! kind assurances you are pleased to give me of y! continuance of your Friendship & intreat you'l believe there's nothing I can take greater pleasure in, than in endeavoring to deserve it,

William Sloper was a member of Brydges' office staff (Hist. MSS Comm., *Portland MSS*, IV [1897], 344). Perhaps the William Sloper who was returned a Member of Parliament in 1715 and later.

² John Hanway, Captain of Lord Tunbridge's Regiment of Foot raised in 1706, and named an additional engineer officer in Portugal about the time this letter was written (Charles Dalton, English Army Lists and Commission Registers, 1661–1714 [London], V [1902], 199, 272, 120). Hanway and Brydges both went to Westminster School (see The Records of Old Westminsters, comp. by G. F. R. Barker and A. H. Stenning [London, 1928], I, 134, 421).

3 See Huntington Library Bulletin, No. 8, p. 160.

The negotiations for Peace 1 are entirely at an end, & ye Praeliminaries (wch a little while ago were officiously cried down as not large enough) have been thought so unreasonable by y. F: K: as to encline him to publish a manifesto to all his People, giving them reasons why He thought in Honour He ought not to accept them; but I find our Great men are firmly of opinion ye Peace is not far off, & by a Lettre from Lieut: Gen!! Cadogan 2 he doth not question but y! Campagne will produce a better Peace still, than they could have had without it. Ye loss my Ld Gallway 3 hath mett with in Portugall will soon be repaired, & Brigd: Wade 4 is gone over to concert with his Lordship proper measures for retrievving it, & employing in ye best manner ye eight Battallions that are embarking under ye command of Major Gen!! Wills.5 Things in generall have a very good prospect abroad, y. good effects of wch I hope will influence ye winter, & make ye Sessions easie, but nothing I fear but Peace will be able to do that, weh I in no wise doubt but will be obtained upon such tearms as will render it Safe & Honourable

I am

In May, 1709, Austria, Great Britain, and the States General presented forty preliminary articles of peace to France; Louis XIV was willing to accept them all, except one relative to Spain, the throne of which was contested between the titular Charles III (a Hapsburg) and Philip V, grandson of Louis XIV. The humiliating terms the allies attempted to impose on France enabled Louis to appeal with great effect to his subjects' patriotism; also the Tories, and especially Swift, were able to represent the English ministers both as continuing the war for purely selfish party ends and as squandering English blood and treasure for the sake of allies who never took a fair share of the fighting — and all this when no essential English interests were at stake.

² William Cadogan, Quartermaster General to Marlborough; the letter referred to is

dated May 12 (N.S.), 1709.

³ Early in May, 1709, a combined force of British and Portuguese troops were defeated

in an action on the Caya (a tributary to the Guadiana).

4 George Wade, who served in the Peninsula as Colonel of the 33d Regiment of Foot, was appointed Brigadier General in 1707 and took part in the expedition which captured Minorca in September, 1708.

⁵ Charles Wills, appointed Major General in Jan., 1709, served in Minorca and later took

part in the allied victory at Saragossa and defeat at Brihuega (Nov., 1710).

July: 8: 1709: S: V:

To M^r S! John Dear S!

The favour of yours of ye 26th last was most acceptable to me. it shew'd that you have still the goodness to remember an old friend of yours, at a time when friendship is become a very valuable commodity & verry difficult for such an one as my self in any place to meet with; but as yours to me is too firm to be alter'd by ye turns of Parties, or I hope any other Accident that can happen, so I asure you ye sincerity of mine to you shall ever very gladly be demonstrated upon every occation that offers: I know no greater satisfaction then ye pleasure of beleiving there is one in ye world, one whose friendship one may relay, & when that opinion is well grounded there is sertainly

no happiness in this world to be compar'd to it.

I send you ye news papers enclos'd which I reced by ye last Post, and hope in a few more to be able to congratulate you upon ye taking of Tournay,2 I know nothing can contribute so much to y! finishing of this burthensome Warr, that [i.e., than] having that early in our hands, thô I question not but as much greater matters were expected then ye siege of a Town, so many will be dissatisfied at its being undertaken. What you are pleas'd to mention concerning ye ill condition ye country is in, must unquestionably be trewe, a war of 20: years 3 must certainely drain ye ready mony & put every one into very difficult circumstances who have not other supports then Land, and I do not see how wee can support it to ye hight it must be another year, should wee be put to it, but I hope there will be no occasion of ye experiment, for I find it to be ye universall opinion that Peace will certainly be made before ye year is out. I am sure I shall rejoyce at it as much as your self any one, for I really long for it beyond measure, I fear our friend ye Vicechamberl: 4 is marry'd or will be very soon to Mrs Hale ye Maid of Hon! I am confident you will think he hath not acted so prudent a part in it, as his friends could have wisht.

I am &c:

¹ See Bulletin, No. 8, p. 161.

² The city of Tournai surrendered July 29, the citadel, Sept. 3.

³ He is reckoning from 1689, when the war against France began; it lasted until 1697.

⁴ Thomas Coke. See Bulletin, No. 8, p. 162, n. 3.

Aug. 14: 1709:

To M^r S! John D! S!

I defer'd acknowledging ye favour of yours of ye 26th Jul: being desirous that y? Mails which wee expected with great impatience from Holl: should first arrive, hoping they might have brought something over, which would have prov'd no small satisfaction to you to have heard. but contrary to what wee had all imaginable reason to beleive, y. French King hath rejected y. treaty for y. Citadell 1 (insisting upon a Generall Cessation) thô there are grounds to think ye Governour did not agree to those terms but by his directions, an Express from ye King of France having got into ye Citadell to him not above two days before, This however hath made most people imagine y. Peace to be defer'd till y. Campaigne is over; & endeed I dont see how y. difficulties on this head can easily be got over; y. Allies insist upon finishing y. Warr in all places at y. same time, & in order to this demand for ye security of evacuating Spain, three Places in that Kingdom to be immadiately upon ye Cessation deliver'd up, ye French on ye contrary pretend it is not in their power to do this, but offer instead to surrender three places more in y. Brabant; which being refus'd it lies at their door to find out some expedient to obviate this, & we's may satisfy y. Allies they are sincere & will do their utmost to cause Spain to be surrendred up. ye defeat of ye Swedes 2 is confirm'd with ye particulars, which you'l soon have in print, they beleive ye King himself is kill'd, his Chaize, that carry'd him of being found all broke in pieces; this Victory will make y. Czar very powerfull, & may do a great deal of prejudice to ye confederacy, if ye other Northen Princes should at this juncture endeavour to make any advantages to themselves from ye disorder Sweden must now be under, ye Comte de la Roque hath gain'd a very considerable advantage over y. French near Montiers, & afterwards at Conflans, where he forc't ye French retrenchments, & kill'd them in both actions upwards of 2000: men: 'tis beleiv'd that this (being capable of being very much improv'd, if

¹ I.e., Tournai.

² The Czar, Peter the Great, defeated Charles XII of Sweden at Pultowa, June 27, 1709. Charles XII actually escaped to Turkish territory.

there is a right & quick use made of it) will encline y. D: of Savoy to put himself without further delay at y. head of his Army; I must now D. S. ask your pardon for mentioning a matter to you, which I should not do, if I was not a little more then ordinarily prest; there is a note of yours for 2306:19:0: which if you could help me to, or y. greatest part of it, would do me at this time a great Kindness y. Bank being prety quick in their calls, & you know they are very punctuelly to be complied with: I have engag'd my-self under y. prospect of an near Peace, which would I know immadiately very considerably have advanc'd y. value of that Fund, so deep, that I am forc't to try all wais to raise mony enough to answer their severall times of Payment, of which there still remains a couple, if you could be assisting to me in it, you would lay a great obligation upon me, & twould be a seasonable act of friendship I am &c:

Sept: 9: 1709: S:V.

To M. S. John D. S.

I did not send you an Acc! of our great victory in Flanders 2 before this time, because I was in daily hopes of receiving more perticulers of it, then those which all ye prints contain'd, by Cadogen's Lettre 3 it appears in generell to have been the greatest that hath been obtain'd this War, & attended with all ye happy sircumstences in relation to my Ld D: himself that his friends could wish, but he relates no perticulers, nor can I get any from any good hands; he saies our loss is very great, the Enemy infinitely more: & my Ld D. himself writs word, he beleaves it will be ye last he shall gain. & that it will oblige ye Enemy to such a Peace as ye Queen shall desire, at ye begening of ye Action ye Dutch foot gave way, whereupon M! Villars according to his usuell Fanfaronnade dispatch[ed] an Express to ye french king giving him an acc! he had gaind ye victory upon which in great hast they made publick rejoysing in france, ye D: of Argile 4 distinguisth him-

¹ Victor Amadeus, Duke of Savoy, was one of the allies.

3 A copy, dated Sept. 12, 1709, is in Stowe 58, IV, 187.

² Marlborough and Eugene defeated the French under Villars at Malplaquet on Sept. 11.

⁴ John (Campbell), Duke of Argyll, served under Marlborough as Lieutenant General.

self very much, being ye first Man of his Battillion who leapt into ye Enemys entrenchments yet had ye good fortune to come of without a wond, this [i.e., 'tis] hop'd that Web's is not mortall I return you many thanks for your kind intentions to assist me (if you conveniently can) against ye next paye, twill realy be very seasonable. & I shall be under great obligation to you for it: however I should be very sorry you should upon any acce of mine put your self to inconviniencies, I hope to have ye happiness of seeing you shortly in town, & assure you that I am & ever will be very sincerely: &c:

Oct: 4: 1709:

To Mr St John Dr Sr

A most Violent fit of ye tooth ach maks me so uneasy that tis as much as I am able to do to acknowledge ye favour of your last, & to enclose to you ye several Camp Lettres last Post brought over from Holl: I am very glad to find Cadogans wound is not mortall, I wish poor Foxon's had been no more dengerous. all accts agree wee shall have Mons by ye 20th Inst You'l pardon ye Shortness of this, I am sure if you knew ye pain I write in

&c

Oct: 13: 1709

To M. S. John D. S.

I have recd your favour of y. 6th Inst: & am glad to take old of this opportunity to return you thanks for it. Since I can at the same time congratulate with you upon y. taking of Mons: an Express went [with] this news of it to winsor; y. Articles were sign'd y. 11: O:S: & one of y. Gate's immediately deliver'd up, which wee took possession of with 500: Men, y. Garrison was to march out yesterday this will put an end to y. Campagne, M. Cardonnell 3 writs me word

¹ John Richmond Webb served under Marlborough in 1709 as Lieutenant General. He was severely wounded at Malplaquet. He figures prominently in Thackeray's Henry Esmond.
² See Bulletin, No. 8, p. 165, n. 1.

³ See *ibid.*, p. 158, n. 3.

he hops to be out of ye field in eight days, & at ye Hague in a few more: I hear by other hands that ye Negotiations will certingly be renew'd in a little time

I heard M. Southern 'yesterday quoted to have shown a Letter from L. Orrery which came over by y. Boats that brought over y. 5: mails, in which my L. said, that notwithstanding y. hops they had of Web's recovery, it was now agreed by y. Chyrurgeons that he could not: & that he had desir'd in his will that he might be buried in Mons. I hope this is a mistake, for my Letters of y. later date speak quite contrary & as if he was out of all danger; I wish Foxson could have had y. same good fortune, but as my Inteligence says he died within a day or two after he recd his wond.

&c

9br 11: 1709

To M. S. John D. S.

Not having had y. Hon! to hear from you since my last, w. by your direction, I sent to farrington in Wiltsh: I fear it had y. misfortune not to come safe to your hands, and therefore have Superscribed this to Bucklesbury; it is to acquaint you that my Ld Duke after a tedious passage & having been for some hours on munday night in 4 fathom water on Dunkerk Sands was at last drove cleer of them to your northwestward & landed at Aldboro in Suffolk; He came yesterday to St James' & I think looks as well as ever I saw him; by what I can understand M. Pettcum hath some larger latitudes allow'd him. You cause of his going to France was at that Kings desire, you States having made a resolution never to permit any one from him except he brought the Praeliminaries Sign'd, so that you Sending of him thither is you expedient for that. M. Cardonnell assures me there's no danger

Probably Thomas Southerne, the dramatist.

² Charles (Boyle), Earl of Orrery, was appointed Brigadier General in Aug., 1709, and Major General, Jan., 1710.

See Bulletin, No. 8, p. 166.
 William Pettkum, possibly a relative of Edzard Adolf Pettkum, Envoy of the Duke of Schleswig-Holstein at The Hague.

of a diversion in favour of France from ye north we is very good news, you'l pardon ye shortness of this, being in such hast, I have only time to assure you I am very sincerely &c.

Nov. 6. 1710.

To Mr Secretary St John

 S^{r}

I beg leave to trouble you with ye enclosed letter from Mr Arnall, & entreat yr favour in his behalf. I can vouch for ye truth of what he writes, viz: that he has been very serviceable & assisting to her Majes Subjects who had ye misfortune to be taken prisoners; & by ye character I have, upon enquiry, recd of him, he appears to be a very honest, quiet man, & not likely to have any design of giving any disturbance to Her Majes government I am Sr &c.

20. Oct. 1711

To Mr Secry St John.

S:

I cannot forbear sending you yo Extract of a letter I have recd from yo Deputy Commissary of Stores in Barcelona. The Holsters &

¹ Mr. Joseph Arnall writes (Oct. 27, 1710) asking Brydges to help him get permission to leave Holland for England, alluding to his services on behalf of English prisoners in Spain.

² The letter referred to is from Theophilus Blyke, dated Barcelona, July 17, 1711. After criticizing the shoes and other stores sent out, he continues: "But were I to go thrô every particular of mismanagem! upon that side, in respect of stores sent hither, wch if it had been rightly managed might have been of profit & reputation too to ye Nation, I must exceed ye limits of a letter, & for a specimen of ye care has been taken in surveying ye things have been sent hither, & not passing them unless good in their kinds, please to observe ye composition of y. Dragoons Holsters. A more exquisite cheat has not been amongst Mechanicks obtruded upon mankind, & I wish that my having a hand in ye vending them bring me not earlier or latter into trouble. I am sure should they pass from me into any of our Countrymen's hands, I shd soon be called to an acco! & branded as a publick Cheat.

"I am almost persuaded that you never saw ye Bays Frocks you seem to imagine were a proper Clothing for this Country. Certain I am that our Slaves in the Plantations wd not think themselves oblig'd to a master for such a covering; but that you may know no industry has been wanting to endeavor to put them of, I have more than once, when a seeming occasion has offer'd promis'd a reward of 50 pistoles to a person to recommend them, but when they have been viewed they were rejected with a Note of contempt, & I wd have sent them by an occasion that is at hand to Lisbon, together with ye Swords as directed, but am not master of so much money as will pay for repacking them Cartage & Boatage aboard ship, & have not

encouragem! enough to run any further upon Tick." (Stowe 58, IX, 233-37.)

Accoutrems he mentions were provided by Arthur Moore & paid for by Warrs contersign'd by your self, expressing that they had been duly & carefully Survey'd. I hope your inspectors going are enough in your interest & power to wink at this representation, won they cannot fail of meeting with upon their arrival, one of your interest articles of their Instructions being, as I am inform'd, to inquire into your accost & remains of all your Stores. You'l please to consider of it, being a matter I think of consequence. I am, Source & Stores.

I have sent Mr More a copy of this account of their condition.

9 Dec. 1711.

To Mr Secret! St John

The Bills for y° last remittance to Portugal having had y° misfortune to be taken in y° Packetboat, & My L^d Treasurer thinking it of y° last consequence to her Majesty's Service in those parts that 2^d bills sh^d be immediatly sent away, I entreat y° favor of you (by his order to stop y° Express you are sending away to y° Man of warr who is order'd to Portugal till Mï Millner 2 sends me y° bills of Exchange, w° will be either this evening or to morrow morning

I am Sr &c.

21 Jan. 171½

To Mr St John

Not having had ye hon! to hear from you I presume you have not had an opportunity of discoursing with My Ld Treasurer ab! ye matter we met at Mr Moors, thô from some thing I have heard I find he is however appris'd of it. I have taken ye liberty to enclose to you a letter I have prepar'd to send to his Ldship upon this subject, but

² James Milner, who supplied bills of exchange to the government. ³ Probably the letter in question was that eventually dated Feb. 11, 1712, proposing that Benjamin Sweet, Brydges' deputy, should be dismissed and John Drummond appointed in his stead.

In a letter of the same date (Oct. 20, 1711) to Moore, Brydges repeats his hope that "the inspectors going are enough in your interest and power to wink at a representation which is too public... to be concealed from their knowledge."

as you have already been pleased to favour me with great distinctions of friendship, I shd not act in you manner I ought, if I did not entreat Yr perusal of it, & that you'd let me know you opinion touching it before I make a step of such importance. I shd be glad if you'd give me leave to wait on you some time to morrow morning, & entreat you will believe me to be with you highest Sincerity Sr &c.

26. Aug. 1712

To My L^d Bollingbroke ^x My L^d.

When I had y° hon! to wait on you this morning I saw you engag'd in so much business that I was unwilling to interrupt you with any affair of my own; but having a request to make to you, I beg leave to trouble you with it now, in regard it being post night, if it can be obtain'd, I w! give y° Gent! concern'd notice of it, It is My Lord that having a nephew ² at present at Brusselles, just return'd from his travels in Italy, his Father is desirous he sh! spend some time in France, & since y° Peace is so near, if by yr Ldship's Goodness he c! obtain a Pass for that purpose, I w! acquaint him with it that he may prepare for his journey. I beg yr Ldship's pardon for this trouble & assure you I am with all imaginable respect My Ld &c.

19 Nov. 1712

To My L^d Bollingbroke My L^d

I have just recd ye hon! of yr Ldship's & will attend you for yr lettres to morrow I entreat you will have ye goodness to let ye Messenger be dispatcht some time that day, because he carries remittances for upwards of m 3 for her Maj: troops in Catalonia & for want of

¹ Created Viscount July 7, 1712.

² Brydges writes to Theophilus Leigh, Aug. 17, 1712, concerning his son William Leigh: "If you are inclin'd he sh^d see France, I believe I can obtain a pass for him now y^e Peace is so near."

³ Apparently £40,000.

w^c they are ready to mutiny, as y^e D. of Argyle as acquainted My L^d Treas^r.

I humbly thank y^r L^dship for thinking of y^e affair I recommended to y^r protection & remain &c

6 Dec. 1712

To My L^d Bullingbrok My L^d.

Baron Walef ^r just now acquaints me Y L^dship has been pleas'd to give him hopes y^e Queen will augment Her Bounty to him from two thous^d Pound to to thous^d Guineas. If this is Her Majestys intentions, I desire y^r L^dship will have y^e goodness to Signyfy it to me that I may take care y^e have y^e warr! made out accordingly & that I may at y^e same time move My L^d Treas! to issue y^e additional sum. &c

27 July 1714.

To My L^d Bolingbroke My Lord

I am oblig'd to be down so early at Cannons, that I cannot do myself you hon! to wait on you according to you commands. I heartily congratulate you success, & pray with you the sincerity that every action of you life may be attended with you like The According to Your Laship relating to Dover was given me by a Gentleman this morning who either had it from Coll Newry (I think your Gov! of Dover) himself, or else from Coll Molesworth to whom you other told it, but with this circumstance that he had no orders for it, but would do it of his own head, upon won my friend's observation was that he won never venture to take

² Probably Colonel Richard Molesworth, afterwards a field marshal and 3d Viscount

Molesworth.

Baron de Walef commanded a regiment, in English pay, which used to make Brydges presents to secure his good offices in seeing that it was promptly paid. Apparently the regiment expected more from its presents than Brydges wished to perform, for in a letter of Aug. 21, 1710, the latter says he has ordered his agent Benjamin Sweet not to accept henceforth presents on his behalf from the regiment. A letter to Sweet of Aug. 22, 1710, confirms that Brydges did give the above-mentioned order.

such a liberty himself, notwithstanding what he said, & that if he did it, he must undoubtedly have private directions for his justification I am &c.

17. Aug 1714

To My L^d Bolingbroke My Lord

I cd not but with a great deal of concern take notice of ye instance I think Y. Lordship gives me of ye little confidence My Ld Chancellor was pleas'd to have in me, when he we transact a matter of that nature with an Under Officer of mine, thô I am not conscious to my self of any reason I have given weh she have made his Ldship have thought me less willing to have serv'd him, than any other. But as that is over, all I can do to Justify my respect to him now, shall not fail to be perform'd & as M. Sloper is expected to morrow in town, & that no letter will reach him, before he setts out, I will be sure to speak to him on thursday morning to settle this affair to My Lord's satisfaction. If his Ld happen not to come up so soon, & that My Lds occasions require this quantity of stock to be sold upon his Laship assigning to me ye stock mortgag'd to Mr Sloper I'l order ye like quantity of mine to be sold, that My Ld may be immediately furnisht with ye money & have ye use of ye overplus, we I presume is ye reason he w. not let slip ye present juncture to sell it. I confess I am surpris'd at what ye Auditor told his Laship of Mr Sloper's demands of procuration, continuation &c. & as I look upon them to be a most ungentleman like proceeding, & very far different from ye temper I always took Mr Sloper to be of, & especially since 'tis within these 2 months that ye Auditor says he has been so pressing for ye principall to be paid in, I cannot but have some distrust of ye veracity of it, & am apt to think Mr Harly 2 has very much mistaken Mr Sloper, but be that as it will I dare undertake his Laship shall be put to no such unreasonable charge I am

My Ld &c

¹ Simon, 1st Viscount Harcourt, who was succeeded by William Cowper, Sept. 21, 1714.
² Perhaps Thomas Harley, a cousin of the Earl of Oxford, Secretary to the Treasury.

3 Sept 1714

To L. Bolingbroke My L.

Since I came home I have recd y. hon of y lettre, in w. you desire I will be in town to morrow morning, & therefore I take y liberty to give you this trouble to know whether you have any further commands for me, in w. case I'l not fail to attend you where & when you appoint me, but if I hear nothing from Y. L. again to require my coming to morrow I shall conclude what you have already been pleas'd to say to me was what you design'd. I beg leave to repeat my assurances that I am with y utmost respect & Sincerity &c

23 Sept 1714

To ye Ld Bullingbroke My Lord

M. Brinsdorff acquaints me, he is to go out of town to night or to morrow morning; & I am very unwilling to loose ye opportunity of returning your Lordship my Sincere thanks for ye hon! of yr 2 letters. As ye friendship I have ever profess'd for yr Ldship, has from time to time been Strengthned by fresh obligations I have every now & then receiv'd, I beg you will be persuaded no proof I can give you of ye truth of it shall ever be omitted, & thô I hope there will be no danger of yr standing in want of it, yet if you should, be assur'd, in whatever you think me capable of serving you, you may employ me on all occasions, as you shall judge best for your interest. I have ye good fortune to be very well with Mr Bothmar & Mr Kreyenberg, & if at any time you we be desirous thrô that channell of making yr peace with the King, I believe, if you have no other way, I could bring it about, that they wd not decline endeavoring to serve you in it. My Ld Oxford was at Greenwich 2 on Sunday, where he staid four hours, without being able to get admittance to His Majesty. On Monday morning he came

¹ John Caspar, Baron von Bothmer, and Christopher Frederick Kreyenberg, two Hanoverian diplomatists.

² George I landed at Greenwich on the evening of Sept. 18. Oxford wrote to his son on that day, "I propose to go to-morrow morning early to make my court." (Historical MSS Comm., *Portland MSS*, V [1899], 495.)

again with Tom Harly, & when Ye King was come out, My Ld Dorset seing him near His Majy told him, Sr that's My Ld Oxford, no doubt Y^r Maj: has heard of him, upon w^{ch} My Lord knelt down & took y^e kings hand, & kist it; After w^{ch} My L^d Dorset seing Tom Harly, told y^e King, And there's S^r, is one Y^r Maj: knows sufficiently, whereupon he likewise kist his hand, & immediately His Maj? turn'd his back upon them both, without saying one word to them, or looking again upon 'em. This transaction has abundantly convinct every one how groundless ye airs he assum'd were, of being well with ye King, & ye alterations weh have been since made & of weh ye Prints give a true accot, leave no room to doubt weh way ye King intends to steer his course. Yet I am assur'd, that thô ye changes we have been made, are wholly in favr of ye Whigs, the King does not intend to govern so much upon that bottom, as to exclude all others, who have been distinguisht by ye different denomination, & that those being restor'd to ye places (or as good ones as those) they were turn'd out of, His Maj: will admitt all into His Service, who will show a readiness to comply with his scheme of Government. How long his Ministers will advise him to continue in this disposition time will show. I dont find but that every body wd be glad to have Yr Lordship escape ye storm, which must inevitably break upon some or other, & most believe, every one wishes My Ld Oxford may be ye man to be made ye sacrifice. Tis incredible how all sorts of people are envenom'd against him, & I must confess I think it hardly possible for him (in any sort of Parl) to avoid undergoing that prosecution, we ye Crown now has no further power (she they have had a disposition) to pardon. I heartily wish it may stop there, & ye most likely means for yr friends to effect it, I think, is not to endeavour too much to divert ye present indignation from him, who by ye voice of all mankind has deserv'd to feel ye Smart of it. I have given Y' Lordship a great deal of trouble, You may perhaps be able to pick out of it ye present Sense of men & posture of affairs, & I flatter myself, you'l pardon it, when you consider it is intended for y service by one who very faithfully subscribes himself

My Ld &c

¹ In June, 1715, the impeachments of Oxford and Bolingbroke were voted by the Commons, but that of the former was dropped two years later. Bolingbroke's impeachment is dealt with in the introduction.

17 Dec. 1714

To My L^d Bolingbroke My Lord

I had sooner acknowledg'd ye hon! of Y. L's lettre by M' Taylor, I if I had not been in dayly expectation of receiving from him an accot I desir'd he w.d make out, of ye Price each Victualling & Navy bill was bought at of ye parcell I lent Y. L. that from thence I might come to a certainty of knowing how much ye difference between that price & ye rate they were now sold at (viz 95) amounted to, & consequently make Y. L. an allowance of it, as a profit to web you are duly entituled. I find upon ye best information I can get they were bought at between 60 & 70 so that taking them by ye medium of 65, ye difference to be made good to you will be 30 per ct weh upon 3100 & odd pounds. Capitall S.S.² Stock produces 930 £ & this sum I have endorst upon ye back of your Mortgage as receiv'd in part of the Principal sum. There was no occasion My Lord of Mr Taylor transferring it over to my order, if it we have been of any use to Y. L. to have kept it longer, & I can only repeat on this occasion, what I have had ye hon to assure you before, that neither ye paymt of this, nor of the other Sums you are indebted to me can in any respect equall ye satisfaction web ye belief afforded me, that ye loan of them is of any Service to Y. L. The friendship you have all along been pleas'd to bear me (ye effects of weh I make no question had ye Queen liv'd longer we have made me perfectly easy in ye concerns I have with ye Publick) has engaged me in a very firm manner & requires a much larger return than I have any prospect of being able to make. My wishes shall constantly attend you for yr prosperity; nor do I despair, notwithstanding ye violent turn affairs take at present but that your abilities will in time gain you such an interest with ye King as to make you ye instrument of composing our differences, extinguishing Party, & bringing us if possible, to be of one mind: a work we we exceedingly redound to Your hon^r, as well as his Maj: service Nor is it impossible, I shd think, for ye present differences between ye great men at Court to contribute to it: for however piec'd up they may by fits see it necessary

I Joseph Taylor, of the War Office.

² South Sea.

for them to be (as hapned to Y. L. with My Ld Oxford) yet ye breaches have been too wide for a perfect reconciliation, such as personall affronts, reviling of each other, & all from my Ld H. think he ought to have been & finding he is not yo Premier Minister The want of this shall make him take several underhand courses, to form new alliances, & particularly with L^d Oxford, of w^{ch} y^e others have several strong proofs, not fit to be trusted to paper. This has given them such a distast towards him, that they already begin to talk of Ld C.2 for his successor. His carriage to ye King is so shocking, that His Maj: said not long ago after he was come out of his closet from him, What w. he have done, How wd he have carried himself towards me, had I granted his Request & given him ye Staff. From hence Y. L. will easily judge ye disposition ye King is in towards him. The person most in fav. at present is My La Townshend.3 At ye beginning there were some differences between My L^d Marlb. & him, but ye interposition of Crags 4 they are perfectly made up, & these two with ye assistance of Bothmar & Bernsdorff 5 form ye Ministry. The D. of Shr.6 has been under much uneasiness & a few days ago prest very earnestly for leave to lay down, but ye King we not consent to it & he has been prevaild upon to keep his staff, tho tis generally thought he will not hold it much longer. When ye K. told him that he had promist that he wd not be a party man, His Grace replied it was for that reason & in pursuance of that promise he found he cd not serve his Majesty longer.

I must acquaint you with a passage w^{ch} I believe will make you laugh. M^r Hampden ⁷ desir'd M^r Bothmar to introduce him to y^{ch} King, accordingly M^r Bothmar appointed him an hour to meet him y^{ch} next morning at y^{ch} back stairs. When they were come M^r Bothmar

² Charles Howard, 3d Earl of Carlisle, who became the First Lord of the Treasury in

1715.

3 Charles, 2d Viscount Townshend, at this time a Secretary of State.

⁴ James Craggs, the elder.

⁵ Baron Andreas Gottlieb von Bernsdorff, a Hanoverian adviser of George I.

⁶ Charles Talbot, 1st Duke of Shrewsbury, whose appointment as Lord High Treasurer was one of the last acts of the dying Queen Anne.

⁷ Richard Hampden, son of John Hampden the younger, and grandson of John Hampden, the parliamentarian.

¹ Charles Montagu, created Earl of Halifax in Oct., 1714. The author of his life in the *Dictionary of National Biography* thought there was "little or no evidence" that Halifax intrigued with the Tories at this time. This letter would seem to supply the evidence.

went in to tell y° King, after he came out My Ld Townshend was sent for into y° Closet, Mr Bothmar observ'd upon it that Mr Hampden gave himself extraordinary aires, & walk[ed] up & down y° room in a good deal of heat, but cd not devine wt y° reason shd be. A little after My Ld Townshend came out & as it hapned Mr Poulteney Seacty at war had some business wth presst for y° Kings resolution, & was thereupon sent for in; upon this Mr Hampden cd no longer contain, but left y° room in a great passion, & when Mr Bothmar was return'd home, he found from him one of y° most impertinent letters wth cd have been wrote, expostulating with him for y° affront, wth he thought had been put upon him, in his not being sent for into y° Closet y° first of all.

These & such like passages will let Y^r L. see that if there is an entire dissatisfaction in one part of the kingdom, there is amongst y^e Party, w^{ch} one w^d think sh^d be pleas'd, a great deal of discontent in some, & as much animosity amongst y^e others, all w^{ch} together will occasion an uneasy sessions of Parl. if y^e great men happen to differ in their Schemes, or but coldly support each other in y^e Debates; so that tis not unlikely but they'l fall upon y^e expedient of some violent prosecution as y^e most probable means of keeping y^e whole Party united together. Who or What will be y^e subject of it I cannot learn, but have reason to think such a proceeding is thought on. I am glad to find all y^e Pamphlets are more civil to Y. L. than to some others of y^e late Ministry & even Staff itself in his 2^d Part ^e seems to be willing to make up with you, and declares he has nothing to lay to y^e charge. I suppose it was from hence y^e report took its rise, of a reconciliation being made between you.

The Parl. will be soon dissolv'd & y° new Elections will be brought on presently after y° Holy days. As soon as they are over I hope we shall see Y. L. in town. I presume you have heard Sr Henry St John 3 was to have been made an Earl for his life only, but it is now deferr'd

till after y° Sessions.

I am &c.

¹ William Pulteney, afterwards created Earl of Bath.

2 A reference to Daniel Defoe's The Secret History of the White Staff, Part II (1714).

3 Henry St. John, 4th Baronet, was created Viscount St. John in 1716.

7 Feb. 1714

To L^d Bolingbroke My Lord

I have been in town but once, since I had ye hon to see Y. L. & then I was not able to find any one who cd give me a certain accot of any passages worth communicating to you. What I have some reason to believe, & we is of most moment, is, that tis said there are discoveries made from My Ld Strafford's Papers, we show, he has in four material Articles exceeded his Instructions, & we tis thought will be a ground for an Impeachm! but of what nature is not yet, as I can hear, determined; thô if it we amount to a Capitall one he we undoubt-

edly have been secured before this time.

As these times, My Lord, in all likelyhood will be very tempestuous, ye Clouds gathering every day & ye Elections growing more Whiggish, than I am apt to think, even ye Court itself desires, there will in all probability be some violent measures set forward, web ye Ministry will not be able (shd they be willing) to avoid giving into. The steps they have taken by ye extraord. Seizure they have made of Papers & letters, with ye last Proclamation, have so rais'd the expectation of ye Whigs that they'l be Sowr'd and dissatisfy'd to ye last degree, if there is not care us'd to provide a sacrifice for 'em. This puts me in mind of what Y. L. hinted at t'other day, when you mentioned settling your affairs so as that shd there be any design levell'd at you, they might not be affected by ye event. Surely such a disposition of y' concerns at this time of day when nobody knows who is safe, & who is not will be very prudent, & what you may always have in yor power when ye whether grows fair, to alter as you please. I cannot believe there is any particular design agest Y. L. & by all I hear there will not be. I know ye Duke of Argyle makes no scrupple of owning his friendship to you, declaring no consideration shall make him break thrô it; however those declarations show that there have been debates upon Persons & from a General Vote, ye Whigs may come, when they see their Party spirited to force on a particular Accusation thô not in-

¹ Thomas Wentworth, 3d Earl of Strafford, one of the English plenipotentiaries to negotiate the Treaty of Utrecht. His papers were seized and used in impeaching him and the other Tory leaders who were responsible for the peace.

tended at first, so that ye using this caution can do you no harm & may

be a service to you.

Cadogan is gone for Vienna to try if he can soften ye Court, & bring them to a complyance with his Maj: desires, but if my Intelligence from those parts be true, his success will not answer his Zeal, for ye words wrote to me are. Personne nose plus dire son sentiment à l'Empereur tant il est devenu insupportable a ses anciens amis, & est resolu de ne pas ceder aux Etats un pouce de Souveraineté aux Païs-bas, & yet at ye same time I have an accot that he has underhand sent troops to Majorca, we seems to be inconsistent with ye other, since such a step is an Infraction of ye Peace with France but what will give a great deal of disquiet & doubt to our Statesmen will be ye Dutch demanding ye Guaranty, we they have signify'd they must do, in case ye Emperor cannot be brought to an amiable composition with them.

I am &c.

14 April 1715

To L^d Bolingbroke My Dear Lord

The hon^r of Y^r Lordship's is just come safe to my hands, & is ye first (except that we M. Taylor deliver'd me before you left London)² I have receiv'd, since you went away. The enclos'd I delivered accordingly to your directions, & that to My Lady Bolingbroke S^r W. W.³ took along with him to Buclesbury,⁴ whither he went yesterday in ye afternoon. I refer to his letter for ye List of names we compose ye Committee of Secrecy appointed to inspect & make a report upon ye 12 Vol: of Papers &c. given in by Mr Stanhope; only in general ye Court List was carry'd by a mighty majority, & it was compos'd of all ye considerable men in that interest in ye H. of C. There

² Bolingbroke had fled for France on Mar. 27.

4 Lady Bolingbroke's ancestral home.
5 A parliamentary committee, under the chairmanship of Robert Walpole, was appointed on Apr. 9 to investigate the alleged crimes of the Tory leaders in the late reign. The Mr. Stanhope mentioned in the next line was James Stanhope, Secretary of State.

Major General William Cadogan was sent on a special mission to Vienna, early in 1715, to discuss the question of the "barrier" between France and the Netherlands.

³ Sir William Wyndham, the leader of the Tory opposition in the Commons.

was no mention of sending to ye Lords for their concurrence & appointment of a number to joyn ye Commons, weh is a sufficient Indication they intend to proceed by way of Impeachment, nor is there any room to doubt it, ye matter agst ye late Administration raising every day stronger than other, in so much that I am from good hands assur'd, they have no less than 4 or 5 facts against one, we'n ye most considerable Lawyers are of opinion will amount to & be call'd direct Treason. Who that one is, I leave Y. L. to judge. This confirms me & so indeed does every[?thing] do more & more, in my opinion that Y. L. was much in ye right to absent Yrself, & retreat into a place of shelter, against a storm so near breaking, & weh might have prov'd fatall to you. I find every person I have discourst with to have ye same thoughts, but they are all exceedingly dissatisfy'd with yr being at Paris, where Y stay cannot but be of great disservice to you, & from wher it has already been wrote over, that Yr arrival occasioned an alteration in ye K. of France's Answer to Ld Stair's memorial, weh differs very much from ye draught that Court had shown him before, of wt they intended to have given. Whether this be truth or not, is of no consequence to Y. L, since its being reported & believ'd will be of great prejudice to you: nor can you expect otherwise than that every day of Yr life there will produce some story or other, we as you rightly observe your self, will be transmitted over hither, & be an handle for y Enemies to exasperate people's minds with, & render y e proceedings more severe against you. but whether to advise you to bend your course, is I confess a task to big for me to take upon me. All I can do will be to try to find out what place will give least offence to those, who have the power to do you good, weh after ye steps you have already taken, I look upon, with great defference to, Y. L's better judgmt, to be ye chief matter you have at present to take care of. As soon as I can learn this, I'l do my self ye hon to acquaint you with it. In ye meantime I own my thoughts lead me to be against ye going to Aix la Chapelle or Liege, for ye reasons Y. L. hints at in yours.

¹ The reason was that preparations for a Jacobite insurrection were on foot; they were stopped by the death of Louis XIV later in the year.

² John Dalrymple, ²d Earl of Stair, was appointed minister plenipotentiary at Paris by George I. For Bolingbroke's meeting with Stair in Paris, see Thomas Macknight, *The Life of Henry St. John, Viscount Bolingbroke* (London, 1873), pp. 451-53.

Geneva is a great way of, but when you consider it so far out of ye way, as not to be likely to administer any jealousy of yr entring into any engagemts, either with France, or Lorraine, I don't know whether you may not judge this, especially in regard to the Privacy & Security you'l meet there, to be ye most probable Place, notwithstanding its distance, that you can have hopes of returning soon home from: but I shd endeed be exceeding glad to hear (if possible, before ye House meets again after ye recess) that you were remov'd from Paris, since thô any part of France will be liable to ye same objections, shd you fix in it, yet yr going to Rouën, & staying there, till you are determined, will be an indication of Your intentions, & take away ye objections that are now made aget you, & we will, if not prevented, be a means of aggravating ye prosecution.

Y. L. has certainly judg'd very rightly, in ye conduct you intend to keep. Men of Your Capacity don't abound too much in this Island & your abilities will sooner or later bring you over again, to fill those posts, Your Country will have occasion of Yr Service in; unless some mistaken steps, whilst you are abroad, shd give ground to such misrepresentations, as wd put it out of their power, who desire yr good, to

do any thing towards rendring their wishes successfull.

Y. L. cannot be surpris'd at L^d Stair'ss unwillingness to receive a visit from you. You know ye character he bears, & out of decency to it, I think, he c^d not have acted otherwise; but ye method he took to reconcile his Duty & Friendship, was in my opinion very oblidging, & I hope Y. L. made a good use of it. His acquaintance is indeed very valuable & worth improving, being a man of great Hon! & whose good sense will soon render him such a Master of Publick Affairs as cannot faill of giving him a Superiority in ye Councils here, where ye death of L^d Wharton, ye unfortunate Illness of Lord Sunderland, & ye approaching age of some others, have & will, in all probability in a short time make a considerable vacancy, we none is more likely to supply, nor nobody consequently be more able to do service to those whom he professes a regard for.

² Thomas, 1st Marquis of Wharton, died Apr. 12, 1715.

Early in the summer Bolingbroke hastened to Lorraine to join the exiled heir of the Stuarts, the titular James III.

³ Charles Spencer, 3d Earl of Sunderland. He did not die, however, until 1722.

S! Rich! Child I has paid ye £8800: & ST Henry St John very handsomely gave up his Pretention to ye 150£ he was to have had out of it.

I have since paid MT Taylor 300 £ so that there remains 8500£ we shall be dispos'd off in ye manner you direct. I shd think ye best you can do with it, wd be to buy in some of ye Annuities or other Funds, & have ye Interest of it remitted over to you. I have acquainted ST WT Wyndham with this, who seems to be of ye same opinion. I likewise told him I was ready to deliver it up to him, whenever he shd have resolv'd on any way of disposing it for yT service. In ye mean time if Y. L. has any occasion of a present supply, I dare engage MT Cantillon will make no difficulty of accommodating you, & taking your bills upon me.

Just now L^d Lansdown ³ has sent me Y. L's of y^e 8th from Calais. You may be assur'd of my being a sincere friend to any one who has been so fortunate as to have done you service, & Cap^t Morgan c^d never have taken a more effectual way to have engag'd me to him, than by behaving himself so, as to have merited Y. L's recommen-

dation.

I will not fail to make y^r compliments as you desire, but wish you w^d express y^e same that you have in yours of y^e 8th in two or three letters, one of wth I w^d lodge with each of y^e three persons. If they receive them, it may have a good effect, & be a means of softning them, & in[s]tilling kinder intentions towards you in their minds, if they sh^d make a Scruple of taking them, It w^d however let them see, y^e gratefull disposition you are of, & as they have seen enough of y^e world, to be convinct of y^e unsteadiness of Fortune & Power, they may perhaps not think it imprudent, to secure y^e friendship of one, who thô at present under misfortune, may live to acknowledge in a very serviceable manner their kindness to him.

I have troubled Y. L. too long I doubt, but I know very well, how acceptable especially at such a time, yo letters of friends are, tho stufft with never so many unnecessary words or impertinent advice, & this consideration will make me very soon take yo same liberty. At

¹ Son of the famous Sir Josiah Child; created Viscount Castlemaine, 1718, and Earl Tylney, 1731 — both in the Irish peerage.

² Mr. Richard Cantillon, a well-known banker in Paris. ³ George Granville, created Lord Lansdowne in 1711.

present I think I ought to release Y. L. from any further uneasiness of this sort, & with assuring you I am with all imaginable sincerity.

My humble service pray to M^r Hammond, whose letter I'l answer next post. why sh^d you not think of engaging him to go along with you to Rouën. His company will be entertaining & his friendship you may rely on. &c.

17 April 1715

To L^d Bolingbroke My D^r L^d.

Since I wrote my last of ye 14 or 15th I have recd ye hon! of Y. Ldp's of ye 18. & am sorry to find by it that what I acquainted you I had heard had been wrote over from france, in relation to ye King's altering after yr arrival ye answer he gave to Ld Stairs, is so far confirm'd as that ye like has also been dropt to you. You cannot but believe after such a report, how little ground soever there may be for it, every refusal or difficulty that King makes to any demand of His Maj: or any disappointment we happens to ye negociation in any part of it, will be attributed to ye influence you have with ye King of France, & ye proceedings here will be ye severest against you. I wish therefore you were gone from Paris, & that you had never been there, but ye sooner you leave it, your friends will be ye better able to endeavour to serve you. I have since my last discourst with some who I believe wish you no ill. Their opinion is that you she immediately remove from Paris & I am still of opinion, you may be very well for some time at Rouën, till you have settled y' affairs so, as to be able with conveniency to take a further journey, & I must again repeat my entreaties, that you will be particularly cautious, how you do ye least act that may occasion any jealousy of yr entring into engagemts with any Court in opposition to yo Interest of Our King & Country. The least suspicion of this will render it impracticable for any one who has an hon for you to do you good, & unsafe for himself to attempt it. I sent ye Copy of your letter to Mr St. --- 2 to Ld Landsdown. He is

Anthony Hammond, a frequent correspondent of Brydges.

² Stanhope, Secretary of State. For the letter, see Macknight, The Life of Henry St. John, p. 452.

gone down with S^r W^m Wyndham to Bucklesbury. As soon as they return I'l discourse them upon y° contents of it, & you shall hear our opinions, both of that & of y^r going to Geneva, w° I confess I cannot but approve of, thô it will be difficult to write you anything satisfactory about your own affairs, till we see a little further into y° prosecution that is apprehended against you.

M^r Pr—r ¹ has declar'd he has burnt all y^e letters he receiv'd from L^d Ox—d, saying he had never any from him of business or worth keeping, whereby you see how much better opinion he had of Y. L^dp than of him, since even y^e very familiar & private letters of yours

were of greater value to him than to be flung into ye fire.

I have been this afternon to wait on L^d Sunderland, who is in my neighbourhood for y^e air. He was so ill I c^d not see him, & D^r Mead ² had been sent for from London, & was then with him. M^r Charlton told me he had never seen him so bad & was very much afraid for him. I am with all imaginable truth

29 April 1715.

To L^d Bolingbroke My D^r L^d

Mr Digby has deliver'd me ye honr of Yr L's by we I find that neither of mine of ye 14 & 17 Inst. had yet reacht yr hands. I hope they have before this time, as likewise those under Sr Wm Wyndham's cover, in we he told me, you had notice from Yr friends that yr retiring out of England had done you no prejudice in their opinions; & indeed tis with great Satisfaction I perceive yr going away has taken ye best turn it was capable of, every one being satisfy'd it was a step necessary for you to take for yr security. Time will very shortly more fully evince this. To day ye Sub Committees being to meet to compare their observations & to frame from ye whole a report to be laid before ye House, we tis believ'd will be ready in a fortnight's time. Upon this ye scene will open, & till then no certainty can be had of ye [?length] this prosecution will be carry'd to. What I can learn (thô

¹ Matthew Prior, the poet, who appeared before the committee of inquiry. See L. G. Wickham Legg, *Matthew Prior* (Cambridge, 1921), p. 234.

² Richard Mead, the well-known physician.

I find people much shyer towards me than they were) is, that ye intention of Impeaching ye three of Crimes & Misdemeanors continues & that agst ye chief of them there has fresh matter & proofs appear'd, notwithstanding weh he carries it with an air of defyance, & sayes he'l put himself at ye head of ye defence, & undertakes to justify every step that has been taken. So that Y. L. will easily believe his conduct has not lessen[ed] ye animosity agst him, & when he fails in ye assurances he gives his friends, I am apt to think, ye censure will not be ye milder for this sort of carriage. As to Y. L's share of this misfortune, I fear there is too much ground to apprehend S. H. St John was not mistaken in ye information he gave you & I have since been assur'd there are 4 or 5 facts, weh are by ye most considerable Lawyers adjudg'd to be Treason. If this proves so, it is beyond all question but that there will be a bill of Attainder brought agst you, upon ye terms he mentioned: but I cannot find out, how far they'l carry yo forfeiture, Nor do I believe, they are themselves yet determined. I have been hinting to one or two in power, how much I may be affected, as a Creditor, & a considerable one, by any forfeiture's being made to extend beyond wt ye Law wd carry it, as ye case at present stands. And they have told me they don't believe it is intended to endeavour any such hardship. If so, my Mortgages will effectually secure Yr Estate, & ye benefit of them you may be assur'd you shall enjoy. But whatever of this nature happens, Your friends are resolv'd to make vr stav abroad as easy to you as they can, & indeed I find by My Li Lansdown's & Sr Wm Wyndham's Report, who have been down at Bucclesbury & know the condition of yr affairs, that was this storm wholly gone over, & y. L. in a condition of returning home, ye most prudent course you cd take wd be to continue abroad for 3 or 4 years. They both say, that had you staid in England you must upon ye foot of living you had put y'self have been ruin'd in y' fortunes in a year or two's time.

The notice Y. L. is pleas'd to take of my letter for furnishing you with money is far above what so small a return for ye many instances of your friendship can deserve, & I shd be exceedingly concern'd if ye use of my Purse was not at yr command in yr distress, ye preservation of we I gratefully acknowledge to have been in a great measure owing to ye generosity of yr nature whilst in power: nor can Fortune find any

way to give a better relish to ye enjoyment of what I have, than by affording me ye pleasure of thinking it may have contributed to have

render'd y' Exile less grievous to you.

I cannot learn where effect yr lettre to Mr Stanhope has produced, but as I verily believe, there are none of ye Ministers who have any personall rancour to Y. L. & that ye letter is in itself I think rightly turn'd & judg'd, I cannot but think it has been represented to ye King in ye manner you desir'd: But I question much whether it is in ye Power, even of ye Ministry itself to say on this occasion to what length this Prosecution shall go, & when or where it shall stop: for as on ye one side favorable opportunities of serving you may arise from ye various Accidents ye nature of this Inquiry may in ye course of its progress occasion, so on ye other hand ye resentments upon opening to ye House ye several parts of ye last Negociation, & exposing ye Managemt, may raise to such a heighth, as to render ye storm beyond all possibility of being quelled: so that all I think to be done as yet, is to watch with care every step of this matter & turn them as much as we can to yr advantage.

I find by S^r W^m W. & L^d L—n they had rather you resided in Rouen, than that you sh^d remove to such a distance as y° Banks of y° Rhone, at this juncture, when it may be necessary to have perhaps sometimes speedy answers from you during y° time these Impeachments are depending. As they are of that opinion, I make no question, but they have good reason for it. I believe however, it will be necessary, it sh^d be given out you design for Geneva & that Y^r removall to Rouën, is only to remove y° objection y^r residing at Paris gives, & that you intend to stay there no longer, than till you have got y^r equipage together, & settle y^r affairs in y° manner so long a journey, & residence in y° part you are going to must require. but indeed I wish you were gone from Paris, for y^r stay in it creates every day fresh uneasiness.

Y. L. certainly judges very right in thinking y? French will go no lengths to give y° King satisfaction in y? affair of Mardyke, but I cannot believe, that stiffness proceeds from their being persuaded there is a design in our Court to break with them, & engage in a new war. On y° contrary as I am convinc't in my own opinion that there is no

The canal Louis XIV was having constructed at Mardyke, on the coast of Flanders, was regarded in England as a violation of the spirit, if not the letter, of the Treaty of Utrecht.

such design in y° mind either of y° King, or any of his Ministers, so I doubt they are too well satisfy'd there can be none, & that they know, if our Court was never so much enclin'd to take such a step, they are under an impossibility of effecting it, for where are any Alliances form'd to assist, even to suffer men to be rais'd in their countries on such an occasion? & if so how can we raise an Army of our own to carry it on, or find funds sufficient to support y° expence of it.

Y. L. shall not fail to hear frequently from me nor will I omit any opportunity of showing that nothing shall ever alter or diminish ye

respect & sincerity with weh I am My Ld &c

22 May 1715.

To L^d Bolingbroke.

This in all probability, My Dear Lord, will find you return'd to Rouen, according to ye advice of S. W. W. & your other friends. I have prepar'd those I have discours'd with, for ye news of it, & find them of opinion it is no unreasonable step to expect you'l take in regard of ye necessity your friends & yourself may be under of frequently hearing from each other. The Report I believe from ye Secret Committee will be made towards ye middle or end of this week. I know if it is not quite prepar'd it want but very little, but ye contents of it are kept so close, I cannot exactly learn ye particulars, only in general, I am assur'd from ye first hands it will answer ye expectations weh have been rais'd & that there are facts, to justify ye Charge of High Treason against Your Lordship, & that of High Crimes & Misdemeanours agest ve others. When I objected to this, that ye general opinion was otherwise, & that it was form'd from what some of the Secret Committee themselves had said, I was answer'd that very few of that Committee knew ye main points themselves, there having been care taken upon forming ye Sub committees & dividing ye Books, that ye Books (web had all previously been inspected) should severally fall into such hands, as they thought most proper to be trusted with them whereby it might easily happen that they who had ye most insignificant ones, might be induct to believe there were no matters of any consequence to be discover'd.

The death of Ld Halifax I esteem at this juncture to be a greater

loss to ye Tories than ye Whigs, thô his abilities render him indeed a very great one to ye Publick. I am persuaded that had he lived, he we not have clos'd with any measures thô they she have proceeded from his own friends, we we have tended to ye taking away of lives or Estates by harsh constructions, or new laws for facts already committed. As he is gone one may easier foresee that the warmth will be carried to a great heighth than one can any one, who is willing to take upon him ye hazardous part of attempting to cool it, much less of being capable to effect it, & yet I cannot but think His Majesty himself will judge it right to find out some expedient to bring this about, in case ye allegations are not so clear & so well justified as may satisfy ye whole Nation, & indeed all Europe that ye charge & judgment have been well grounded & ye effects of justice more than Party or Passion.

The money, My Lord, for y° Estate in Essex is ready I have acquainted S^r W. W. when ever he desires it, I have made several payments to y° value of ab^t 2000 £ out of it, I c^d wish it was laid out in something where it c^d remain for y^r service, & with an Interest upon it, for thô I have taken care it shall yeild you 6 per C^t whilst I am answerable for it, yet by that means it w^d not be so liable to have y° Capital diminisht, as it now is, by y° sums w^{ch} are drawn upon me. I have p^d your bill of 250 £ as likewise one of 350 £ to M^r Taylor.

Ld Carlisle succeeds Ld Halifax in ye Treas. I don't know yet who

is to have ye Post design'd for him of Privy Seal.

I return you humble thanks for y^r oblidging offer of providing me with some Burgundy. If you could without much trouble send me a piece of each of y^e sorts you mention, it w^d be very acceptable I am my dear L^d with unalterable sincerity

Yr L's &c.

Since ye Bill has not been yet sent to Mr Pels I believe Mr Cantillon had better keep it still by him, but in this as you shall judge best.

I had forgot to add that I believe Your Lordship is in ye right about writing to ye three persons, & it may as well be let alone, at least yet awhile

¹ Messrs. André Pels et Fils, a business firm in Amsterdam.

9 June 1715

To L^d Bolingbroke My D^r L^d.

I am just come from y° House of Commons (it is now eight a clock) where y° Report has been read at y° Bar & upon a division of 282 to 175 carried to be read at y° table, but as it has taken upwards of 6 hours to read it at y° bar, it is believed y° House will only possess themselves of it to night & end y° second reading to morrow when there will be a debate whether they shall go immediately upon y° consideration of it or take some days time to consider it. I cannot at this present enumerate all y° particulars of it. Your Name is in almost every page & many of y° lettres product, w° yet I think contain (pardon y° expression) more levity than crime. It is impossible yet to tell what turn this will take. It is intended to impeach of High treason both L—d O—d, & D—— of O. d endeed y° Justification w° this latter has lately put up has enrag'd his enemies & disoblidg'd his friends. I believe a few days more will convince you you were in y° right to retire I am &c.

Your Lordship's of ye 26 May S.N. is ye last I have had ye hon' to

receive from you My last to You was dated 22 May.

11 July 1715

To L^d Bolingbroke My Lord

I send Y. L. enclos'd a copy of my lettre to M^r Cantillon ² about y° subject of y° ballance of y° Acco^t he was directed to pay you & y° misfortune he wrote me had befallen S^r Rich^{d.3} Pray let me hear from Y L. soon whether you have recd y° whole or part, & if not all how much, & what you'd have me do with y° residue. M^r Decker ⁴ offers to furnish me with a letter of Credit on M^r Heusch de Genvry, w° I should think y° best way, for then your Lordship will be possest of y°

² Mr. Cantillon, Jr.

4 Matthew Decker.

The Earl of Oxford and James Butler, 2d Duke of Ormonde.

³ Sir Richard Cantillon, head of the firm. The misfortune appears by a later letter to have been a "merely imaginary" danger.

whole, & you may take what course you please with it, either by remitting it back to Your Trustees, or laying it out advantageously were you are (tho it is very dangerous medling at present with either Publick or private securities in France) & in case of any Judicial examination here in Engl. to find out what I did with ye money paid into my hands on Yr Acco! We shall be out of ye danger of having it wrested from me to your prejudice

The Articles agst Y L. are not yet prepar'd, but will be I hear by

ye end of ye week Adieu my dear Ld

Your &c

You'l easily see I write in great haste & hope you'l pardon me.

Oct. 5: 1717.

L^d B.— My Dear Lord

You will do me the Justice I hope to believe it was with the greatest pleasure I heard from Mr Br. the good Acct of your Ldship's Health, and the temper of mind with which you bear the unparalleld misfortunes you have met with: you are entirely in the right, when you depend upon all the service I am capable of doing you, both here and where you are; for I know no Man living, I wou'd more gladly be an Instrument of procuring satisfaction to: as for the last, I flatter my self. Mr Cantillon has not been wanting to supply you, as oft as you requir'd him; & my directions to him are, that he continues to do the same. If this small piece of Service can be of use enough to render your stay abroad less irksom to you I shall think my self very fortunate to have had the power of doing so much good: as for doing Your L'ship service here, I have not fail'd in my endeavours, and if they have not prov'd as successful as I wish'd them, to want of Credit enough at Court, not to want I'm sure of inclination the failure is to be imputed. I had a great deal of discourse with young Craggs,2 the night before he went to New Market on your subject; He is sincerely

¹ John Brinsden, who had been Bolingbroke's secretary, according to Macknight (op. cit., p. 622).
² James Craggs, the younger, who was appointed a Secretary of State in 1718.

your Friend and saies every one of the Ministers is enclin'd to favour your Return, but they are all of Opinion, it is not to be brought about before the end of next Sessions. All the reason I cou'd learn of this backwardness, is from the situation they are at present in, for having the Tories against them and a great number of the Whigs having adher'd to Ld T& Mr W. their support in Parliamt consists in the high flying Whigs chiefly. They apprehend therefore that such a step as this of pardoning your Laship, and bringing you back would go near to lose them a great number of that Party which now stick to them: If Mr Brinsd: discoursing with Sr W. W. and his Friends cou'd have so good an effect so far to convince them of the ruin (which I find from your papers) wou'd inevitably have attended the success of the engagement they had enter'd into, as to encline them to come over to the King's Interest and rather help to promote then distract it Parliam! there cou'd be nothing in the World more fortunate for your Laship, to whom the merit of such Conversion will justly be ascrib'd, nor indeed to themselves or Friends for they have now an Opportunity of gaining the King's Favour who is resolv'd to bestow it on all (without distinction of Party) who will endeavour to deserve it. The breach between the Whigs is irreparable, and the misunderstanding that is amongst the Persons of the highest rank, I fear will hardly be made up; so that the opposers of the Court Measures have a support and it's come to that pass that it is almost openly so) which makes every one who has reputation to lose, no Fortune to make, & the future welfare of his Family at heart, unwilling to come into business, or to have any thing to do with the Administration, as you may easily percieve from the number of great Employments which lie vacant. And from hence it is my Fears, for Yor Ldship only arise; for shou'd the present Ministers be unable to support themselves, & the Administration fall into different Hands. I much question whither they'd have the same good inclinations to facilitate your Return. The Parliamt I believe will meet the 12 or 20 of November, and if the Court have no unreasonable demands to make, no thoughts of engaging the Nation in a foren war (which I don't hear they have) the Edge of all opposition must be much blunted; nor will the adverse Party, I fancy,

Lord Townshend and Robert Walpole, who had left the Whig ministry of Stanhope and Sunderland in the spring of this year.

think of beginning an Attack upon the Ministers, till they have first tried their strength by opposing some unpopular Motion they may be necessitated to make; so that if the Court has nothing more to ask, then the making a provision for the current Expence, & that they take care before hand to reduce it as low as possible, I don't see but that this Session will pass quietly over, the consequence of which must be the strengthning the King's hands, and weakning that Spirit of Opposition which runs very high at present, from the rancour they who are turn'd out have against those whom they look upon to have been the Authors of their disgrace.

Your L^dship's Commands to Me concerning M^r Brinsden shall punctually be complied with, whoever shows himself a true Servant of yours will never want one in me to him being with the utmost truth

My Lord your L^dship's most obedient humble Serv^t & Kinsman.

Oct. 5. 1720

L. Bolingbrook. My D. Lord.

M! Brinsdales 'going over to paris furnisheth me with an Opportunity of kissing your Hands & enquiring after Y! Health: the good News He brings you of the Hopes given us of Seeing you soon in England, will, I am perswaded, give y! Lords! as much pleasure, as it doth to Y! friends here; & I have great reason to beleive, the promises so often made to this purpose will this Sessions be perform'd. You'l be so just to me, as to be satisfy'd the prospect of it rejoyces No Body more than my self, who must alway'es beg leave to take so large a share in every thing that affects Y! Lordship. M! Brinsdale will give you a full Acco! of the Posture of Affairs here; I have seen great Variety of Fortune, but in all my Life, I never saw so universal a scene of Misery, as I did last week,² the distress mankind was in was incon-

^x Probably the John Brinsden mentioned above.

² In 1720 a rage for speculation seized upon England, and every kind of fraudulent and speculative company found eager investors in its stock. The bubble burst in September, with the results Chandos describes. He himself had been an active projector of some very dubious companies, so it is not to be regretted that he burned his fingers severely.

ceivable & a general Bankrupsy was apprehended. God be thank't the ruine that threatned the Publick is pretty well blown over, but the destruction the fall of Stocks, & the Loss of Credit hath brought upon private Families is never to be retreived & the Number of Families of all degrees absolutely ruin'd hereby is past beleif, Many of your humble servants have suffer'd exceedingly. Lord Harcourt from being worth a profit of One Hundred thousand pounds, I fear hath hardly sav'd ten thousand, & in my Fortune, I assure you, I have lost within this month above five Hundred thousand pounds. I hope Y: Lordship was no ways involv'd in this General Calamity, which will make my Own Misfortunes sit the lighter on me. the Yatchts are order'd for the King, * & L. Sunderland is expected soon over. I beleive the Union at Court 2 was no Small Surprise to Y. Lordship it having been transacted with so much secrecy, that scarce any one was appris'd of it, besides the three or four that manag'd it. I doubt the reconciliation amongst the Ministers is not so cordiall, as they promist themselves from it, & I fear there still remains a rancour in the Breasts of some, which will show it self the first Opportunity there is for it.

People begin to whisper as if this Parl: would be continued & an Act brought in this Sessions to that purpose whether there is any ground for that report I know not, but I ask't lately one of the Min-

isters, who would own nothing of it.

M. Brinsdale will inform Y. Lordship the State of Y. Own Estate, tis generally thought the man who bought it, will not be able to comply with his bargain, & I heartily wish y. Lordship could be the purchaser of it, this I believe might be affected by an Agreement with M. Packer at a small Expence & it would be a great satisfaction to all your Friends to see you Master of it again: that all success & Happiness may attend you in what you desire, is the sincere & hearty wish of him who is with great Respect & Affection.

My Lord &c

I.e., to bring him back from Hanover.

² A reference to the reconciliation between George I and the Prince of Wales, who had quarreled violently in 1718. Walpole is supposed to have been the mediator.

May. 27th 1723:

Ld: Bolingbroke My dear Lord:

It is with inexpressible [?joy] I write these few Lines to congratulate you on the Success of Ld. Harcourts Endeavours for your Service. The Broad Seal I understand is to be put to your Pardon this Evening, and the Passp! M! Brinsden brings you will encline you

I hope to come soon over.

Nothing can encrease the Pleasure your Friends receive on this happy Occation but the compleating their Satisfaction and yt good Fortune by the Reversall of the Bill of Attainder and thereby securing to you the Reversion of your Family Estate, nor can their be any doubt but this will be accomplished next Sessions. I am preswaded you do me the Justice to believe amongst all the Number of your Friends nobody is more sincerly affected with this Instance of his Majt Goodness than

My dear Lord Yor &c

P.S. Your Lordship having no house in Town, you'l give me Leave to make a Tender to you of mine which you may freely command

July. 11th 1723.

Ld: Bolingbroke My dear Lord.

If you are not otherwise engaged I desire you'l let me have the Honour of your Company at Cannons on Tuesday next to Dinner, or if that Day should be inconvenient that you'l name any other. I am with great Respect

My Ld Yo

¹ Bolingbroke's pardon was granted in May, 1723, and he was free to return to England; the act to repeal his attainder was not passed until 1725, and even then he remained excluded from the House of Lords.

July: 19th 1723.

Lord Bollingbroke My Lord.

I have seen M^r Walpole ^r this Morning and have had some Discourse with him, which I should be glad to communicate to your Lordship, & in order to it will do my self the Honour to wait on you on Wenesday Morning about ten; he hath promised to dine with your Lordship at Cannons on Saturday seven-night, I hope it is a Day which will suit your Conveniency.

I am unalterably

Yor

P. S. I believe you will have a Visset from my Ld Cadogan to morrow, but he is not to be of the Party, so you need not take any Notice to him of your Intention of coming to Cannons.

Friday. 26th July 1723.

Lord Bollingbroke My Lord:

I am under great Concern to hear you have a Return of your Indisposition, & heartily wish you a safe and speedy Recovery from it. I hope this will find you so well that I may still have the Honour to see you at Cannons to morrow but if you should not be able to come I entreat you will send out Word to my Servant who will have the honour to deliver you this because if you cannot be here, he hath a Letter which he is to go and deliver to Mr Walpole, but in case you are well enough to come, he is to return and bring back that Letter undelivered with him: I am

My dear Ld

Yors

¹ Robert Walpole was at this time the chief minister of the Crown. No doubt the meeting was arranged to discuss the reversal of Bolingbroke's attainder.

Aug. 2nd 1723.

Lord Bollingbroke My Lord

By the enclosed your Lordship will see I lost no time in putting in Execution the commands you laid upon me, I wish my Endeavours herein had met with better Success, tho' I confess I cannot blame Mr Waring since he intends to take up his Rest in the Country, for

desiring to plant some good Neighbours near him.

I am now going into the Country where I shall have Company will keep me till Wenesday Morning, I propose being pretty early in Town & will do my self the Hon! to be at your Ldships in Pall Mall between ten & eleven where I hope to receive Notice when your Ldship will be at Leisure to give me leave to wait on you. I am

Your Ldps &c

Cannons 13th Sept. 1725

Lord Viscount Bolingbroke My Lord

I did my self the Honour to call at your Lordship's door when I was last in Town, to put the inclosed into your hands, finding your Name to be made use of in it. I have no manner of acquaintance with the Gentleman, not so much as to know him even by sight; but this should be no Obstruction to my rendering him the good Office He desires (since he is one whom you were pleast to take under your Protection) was it in my power to Serve him. But your Lordship must be sensible my Interest can do him no good; and therefore the best way I can take in his favour is to put him into the hands of One who can. Accordingly I return him to his first Patron, who no doubt, will continue to him that countenance He first showed Him, if he hath not rendered himself unworthy of it I am

My Dear Lord Your &c

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Bath 16. Octob: 1726

Lord Bolingbroke My Lord

I must intreat y! forgivness for this trouble which the desire of serving a friend forces me to give You. By the death of D¹ Fuller there is a Vacancy of Judge of the Admiralty, & this Post being in the disposal of My Lord Berkley ¹ I shall take it as a particular mark of your friendship if you'l be so good to use your Interest w! His Lordship, that D¹ Strahan may be appointed to succeed in it. I would not recommend this Gentleman if it was not well known, how capable he is of executing it, & that few are superiour to him in his profession of the Civil Law & his other Accomplishments. Your Lordship's favour on this occasion will lay a great obligation on

My Lord Your Lordship's &c

London 28th May 1728

Lord Bolingbroke My Dear Lord

I am much obliged to you for the kind Share you take of ye Concern I am under for the great loss I have lately received. It is indeed a very severe Affliction to me, and though My Brother's health hath been for some Months past so bad I could not reasonably expect he could last long yet the recovery he had when We thought his Case desperate, made me flatter my Self he might once more get the better of his Distemper: but it pleased God to Decree otherwise, and Wee must submit to his Pleasure.

I heartily wish your Lordship may receive all the Benefit from the Waters you desire, and that they may be a meane of restoring you to a perfect State of Good Health, a long continuance of which no Body more sincerely wishes you than

My Lord Your Lordships &c

I James, 3d Earl of Berkeley, who was at this time the First Lord of the Admiralty.

London 3d January 1728/9

Lord Bolingbroke My Lord

The minute after I left your Lordship I sent for Mr Hall r but he had been gone out of Town two days before: I should be glad to know if you would have me write to him about the Affair you did Me the Honour to mention to Me, since I understand he doth not propose returning till next Term and then it may perhaps be too late to hope for any Success in the Commission you were pleased to give Me. I am with great Respect

My Lord Your Lordship's &c

Cannons 23d January 1728/9

Lord Visct Bolingbroke My Lord

I received the Honour of Your Lordships Letter and am sorry I could not be in Town to receive your Command when you did me the Honour to call at my House. M. Hall is to dine with Me to morrow and I will not fail to do all in my power to persuade him to an Accommodation. He seem'd to be in a very good Disposition towards it when I spoke to him last, and by his Letter which I send you inclosed you'l find he doth not think the backwardness to it is on his Clients Side. I will get him to tell to what Terms he believes Mr. Packer will be brought and acquaint Your Lordship with it in the Evening when I intend to have the Honour of waiting on you. After this I believe it will be more for Your Lordship's Service that M. Taylor and he should meet to try if this troublesome affair (for I wish it doth not in the end occasion you more than you are aware of) can be brought to an Amicable Issue: He understands the whole perfectly well whereas I am as great a Stranger to it, and therefore by no means fit to be a Guarantee, or to undertake to be answerable for the Expectations which may be given on either side. But if what I have already

¹ Charles Hall, steward of Brydges' Shaw Estate, in Berkshire.

done or shall do with him to morrow prove of any Service to Your Lordship & I can be a means of puting an End to this Dispute, it will be an unspeakable Pleasure to him who is with great Respect,

My Lord Your Lordships &c

Cannons 12th February 1728/9

Lord Visc. Bolingbroke My Lord

By a Letter from M. Hall I find he intends to be in Town on Saturday I shall see him soon after he comes and will do what I can to persuade him to bring his Client to an Accommodation I shall be very glad if I can be a means of freeing Your Lordship from this troublesome Affair but much question my Success the Terms M. Hall mentioned when I saw him last having been such as gives but little room to expect he will come down to what is reasonable for your Lordship to comply with: but of this M. Taylor will be a better Judge to whom I shall referr him to adjust the Terms between Your Lordship and M. Packer. M. Taylor delivered me Your Letter of the 8th and by what My Lord Trevor told me I believe you need not be much in pain about y. coming before the House of Lords, if you shall be forced to it. I am

My Dear Lord Your Lordship's &c

Cannons. 17th Jany. 1729/30

Lord Viscot Bolingbroke My Lord

Your Lordship made lately a considerable Fall of Wood at Bucklesberry & I hear are going to do the like this year: I shall likewise make a small One at Shaw, but as I am entirely ignorant of the Customs of that Country, & have reason to apprehend I shall be imposed upon in the Bargains I must make, I beg you will be so good to give

Thomas, 1st Lord Trevor of Bromham, at this time Lord Privy Seal.

me leave to ask your Advice about the management of it, particularly whether it is an Established Custom in those parts to allow the Woodman (as mine tells me it is) 12^d in the Pound for all Coppice Wood & Timber that is fallen, as also to allow the Buyers three Timber Trees to an Acre for their expenses of faggoting Horses &c. Your Lordship will oblige me if you'l please to let me know too, whether you judge it more adviseable to sell it standing or to be at the trouble & charge of falling & converting it one's self, & what prices Timber & Coppice Wood generally sell at. Your forgiveness of this trouble will lay a great Obligation on

My Lord Your Lordship's &c

Cannons. 19th May. 1730.

Lord Viscot Bolingbroke My Lord

Some friends of Your Lordship intend me the honour of their Companys at Dinner at Cannons on friday: if you are not otherwise engaged, I intreat you will be so good to be of the Party. I am

My Lord Your Lordship's &c.

14 April 1715

To My Lady Bolingbroke ^x Madam

I recd by M^r Taylor ye hon of your Ladyship's, & am much concern'd ye little service I have been able to do My L^d Bolingbroke sh^d be so much inferior to ye notice you are pleas'd to take of it. I sincerely condole with you upon his great misfortune, & sh^d think myself particularly happy, if by any assistance of mine I c^d be instrumental in rendring it more easy, & to this not only my respect to his L^dship enclines me but that hon we I have for y merits, who have given such an instance & example of affection hardly to be parallell'd. I am with perfect truth

The enclos'd came to me this morning.

¹ Frances, daughter of Sir Henry Winchcombe; she died in Nov., 1718.

26. Aug. 1715

To Lady Bolingbroke Madam

Mr Taylor has this morning deliver'd me Y. Ladyship's letter of ye 23. & you may be assur'd ye contents of it shall be faithfully executed. I wish ye success may answer your desires & ye Zeal of my endeavours, nor indeed do I much question it, knowing very well ye goodness of ye king's nature will lead him easily to an act of so much justice as well as mercy. I shall be proud to receive yr commands on any other occasion, being with very sincere respect

Sr &c

2 Sept 1715

To ye Lady Bolingbroke Madam

I cd not but be very sensibly toucht with you melancholy accot you were pleas'd to give me of you mention; in you letter you sent me, & shd esteem my self particularly fortunate, cd I be instrumental in alleviating them in you mention; but surely South H. St John can never make a difficulty of serving you himself in an affair so reasonable, & in woh his family is so much concern'd. If he should, My Lord Stawell (one of My Lord's Trustees) in my opinion is you fittest hand to deliver Your Petition by, & you rather since he has already spoke to Ld Townshend abt it & recd a promise from him of his Countenancing it. I shd be glad to see a copy of it that I may be able to speak to you contents of it. I heartily wish you, Madam, success in this & a quick & satisfactory end of all your troubles, entreating you will lay your commands, whenever you think my service can be of use to you; on

Madam &c.

I write by this bearer to L^d Stawell to acquaint him with my thoughts on this matter

I believe Your Ladyship w^d do well to send one over to S^r H. to know his Intention.

^x William (Stawel), Baron Stawel of Somerton.

26. Sept. 1715

To My Lady Bolingbroke Madam

I congratulate Y^r Ladyship upon y^e instance of goodness you have recd from His Maj: & wish you may long live to enjoy y^e effects of it. I presume M^r Taylor will take care to follow the expediting y^e Grant thrô y^e several Offices. It is matter of form & will if not diligently prosecuted take up a good deal of time. His friendship to Y^r family will I am confident make him exert himself on this, as he has done, on all other occasions for y^r service.

I cannot think your Ladyship does amiss in signing as you do, there are many Instances where Ladies upon ye like unfortunate occasions have acted in ye same manner. I just now hear Sr Wm Wyndham

is taken at Colchester.1

I am Madam &c.

14 Mar 1718

To y^e Lady Bolingbroke Madam

I was desirous [i.e., ?deferring] acknowledging ye hon of y. Ladyship's till I had had an opportunity of discoursing with Mr Taylor, & Sr Rob Raymond about ye contents of it, & thô I have done this, yet I must confess I find myself but little ye better able to write any thing that may prove Satisfactory to you. They are both of opinion ye Commissioners have not power to seize upon Estates, their Commission being only a Commission of Enquiry; but on ye other side, they are dubious how far it will be prudent or to any pur-

¹ According to the *Dictionary of National Biography*, Wyndham was arrested at Orchard-Wyndham, in Somerset, Sept. 21, escaped by a trick, but surrendered a few days later. The reason for his arrest was that he was suspected of trying to raise men to aid the Jacobite rebellion.

Solicitor-General under Anne, Attorney-General, 1720, Lord Chief Justice, 1725.
 In June, 1716, there was passed "An act for appointing commissioners of inquiry of the

estates of certain traitors and popish recusants, and of estates, given to superstitious uses, in order to raise money out of them severally for the use of the public." For a protest against this act, see *Cobbett's Parliamentary History of England* (London), VII (1811), 384-86.

pose to dispute with them. I have assur'd Mr Taylor that whatever shall be judg'd for ye benefit of My Lord & Yr Ladyship, he may command my endeavours to serve you in it, & thô I ch now wish ye advice I gave above a year ago, of suffering me to take possession, had been follow'd, yet since it was not, I find Sr Robert is of opinion I had better defer lodging my claim before ye Commissioners till I have seen what ye purport of ye Act of Parl. will be, we is to be brought in by way of explanation & enforcement of that past last Session, by we ye present Commissioners act. I entreat Y Ladyship will be perswaded no body takes a greater share of all afflictions we befall yr family than my Self, nor can any one be more joyfully an instrument of alleviating them than

Madam &c.

May 15. 1718.

Lady Bolinbroke. Madam

Mr. Br—'s going down to the Bath to pay his respects to your Ladyship furnishes me with an Opportunity I cannot let slip of acquainting you with the great Concern I am under at the News of your Indisposition. I heartily wish you may safely recover out of it, and that a Lady who hath undergone such severe Tryals from the mutability of human Greatness may live to see an end of her Troubles, & receive in this as well as the next World the reward due to her patience & tender Affection to her Lord. These Virtues Madam have imprinted in me such a sence of Compassion towards your sufferings that was I not moved by the Friendship I profess to my Lord, y. personal merrits wou'd require at my hands all I cou'd do to render your Misfortunes more supportable, but I am sensible at the same time I offer my Service to you, I offer it in the most agreable manner I can to him, whose greatest Concern under the sad Reverse of Fortune he feels is that he makes you unhappy by it, who hath deserved so much better Fate: We doubt not but your Ladyship will still preserve that Affection of which you have given so many & great Instances; And as My Lord hath shown an unusual proof of the Confidence he hath

in your Goodness, by the Settlement he made on you just before he left England, so we are perswaded by your Care in the Disposition of your Concerns, your Regard to the narrow unfortunate Circumstances My Lord Bolinbroke is reduc't to, will be a manifest demonstration to the World of your continuing to the last that Tenderness which hath hitherto shone in all your Actions & by which you have set before your Son an Example as difficult to be sufficiently praised as it is worthy to be imitated. I am with great Respect &c

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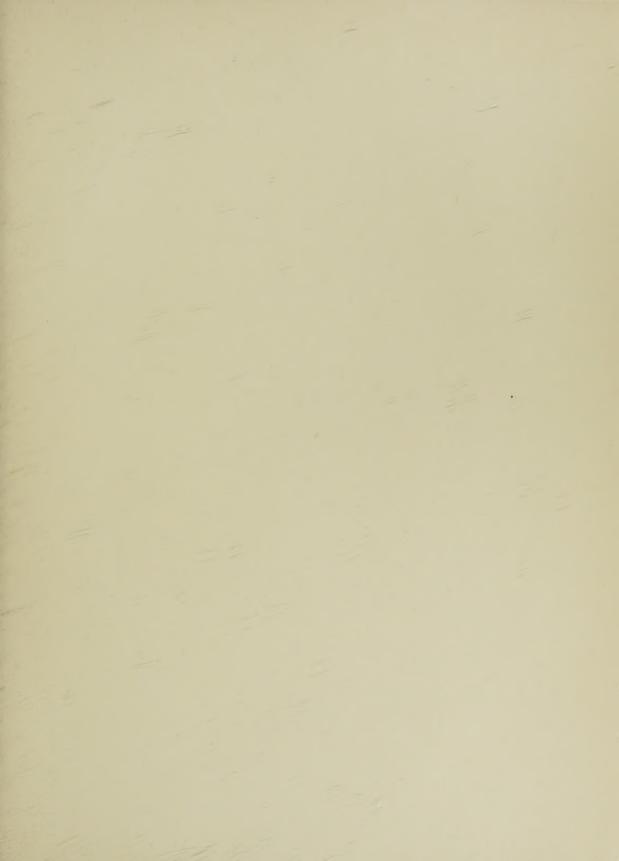
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